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The Shape of Things

★

HITLER'S SPEECH GAVE NO INDICATION of where the lightning of Nazi fury would strike next, but made it abundantly clear that in the Führer's mind the Austrian coup was only a step in an unending war against democracy. He denounced the League, the Spanish government, China, the Soviet Union, England, and France. His wrath exceeded all bounds in castigating the free press of the democracies which dared to present him in an unfavorable light. He was warm in his praise of his fascist allies—Franco, Italy, Japan—and of his new province, Austria. In all of this there was little that was new; nothing that was unexpected. Yet, paradoxically, it was the most alarming of Hitler's speeches, for it revealed unmistakably that, far from satisfying his ambitions, his recent victories over the army and Schuschnigg have rendered him more determined than ever to obtain mastery over Europe and more confident that he can do so. While his reference to Czecho-Slovakia was oblique, the inference was unmistakable. And as if in answer to Chamberlain and Halifax, he indicated that Germany could not be bought off, on colonies or on any other issue. The Reich is now committed openly and irrevocably to a program of power politics in alliance with Italy and Japan. And, by implication, the world is told that the only argument Germany will heed is one backed up by superior force.

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ALTHOUGH EDEN'S RESIGNATION IS BEING hailed in Rome and Berlin as a major triumph for fascism, it may be of immense value in dramatizing the fundamental choice that lies before Britain and the other democracies. Eden, as a representative of the younger generation, has stood unwaveringly for a new concept in international relations—the establishment of an effective system of international law based on collective responsibility. He has held that concessions to aggressors and potential aggressors would destroy the foundations of such a system. The dominant faction of the British Cabinet, on the other hand, has tried rather clumsily to play the dangerous game of power politics, seeking to curry favor with whatever country or group of countries seemed likely to attain a position of dominance in Europe. As Foreign Secretary in the Chamberlain Cabinet, Eden was a virtual prisoner of the group which wished to make terms with Hitler and Mussolini. Out-

side the Cabinet he may not have any immediate influence on foreign policy, but he will automatically become the leader of a powerful opposition—an opposition which was shown by the peace ballot to represent a majority of the British people.

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PRICES ARE TOO LOW, PRICES ARE TOO HIGH: both these cries have recently been heard, and both have come from the Administration. The report of the President's committee on prices last week indicates that both may be true. Foodstuff prices have been falling too fast, while prices in the basic mass-production industries have in many instances remained rigid. The actual fact is, as the committee recognizes, that a healthy economic system depends upon a balanced relation between the prices of various commodity groups, as well as on the general price level. The committee's report is welcome because it serves once more to emphasize that rigid prices in the industries where prices are in effect set by the big corporations have served to retard recovery and intensify the depression. Steel and cement prices, for example, are still far too high; automobile prices have been coming down through a voluntary ukase of the auto magnates, and as a result there are signs of reemployment among the automobile manufacturers and the auto-parts companies. Other prices, the committee tells us, are not high enough. This sounds plausible, but we await a bill of particulars. Perhaps Mr. Roosevelt fears to be specific about high and low prices because if he mentions names he runs the risk of bringing down the heavy battalions of big business. But the concerted attack on the problem of price policy must be removed from the region of generalities. We doubt that it is a prelude to an inflationary drive. Rather it seems to us a promising opening wedge for that planning of price and production policies in the key industries which we have been advocating, and which alone can bring reemployment and lift the national income.

★

SENATOR O'MAHONEY HAS CHANGED HIS bill intended to regulate certain activities of corporations in interstate business by means of a federal licensing system. On the whole the changes are in the wrong direction. The exemption of corporations of less than \$100,000 means the exemption of many of the centers of infection so far as child labor is concerned. The vesting of the power to revoke licenses solely in the courts will make the proposed measure as cumbersome and ineffective as the anti-trust laws; what is needed is administrative action. The dropping of provisions for labor standards is similarly unwise. Nevertheless the measure, even with these changes, probably dictated by business pressure, is better than no measure at all. The bill seeks to wipe out child labor, grant equality of wages and working conditions to women performing the same jobs as men, regulate trade practices, and fight monopoly. The first two of these objectives have never been attempted by federal agencies, and their inclusion gives the

O'Mahoney-Borah measure its principal value. We endorse it for whatever effectiveness it may carry. But its advocacy and passage should not preclude continued efforts for the child-labor amendment, for a wage-hour bill, and for vigorous measures to deal with holding-company control of business.

★

TO MODIFY THE GOLD-STERILIZATION POLICY so that the first \$100,000,000 in gold imported in any quarter will not be segregated is a meaningless gesture as far as practical effects are concerned. It will be recalled that \$300,000,000 of "sterilized" gold was liberated early in September without affecting the deflationary cycle which was just beginning to get under way. While the "desterilized" gold is available, in theory, as a basis for a credit expansion of approximately ten times its value, the existence of \$1,360,000,000 in excess reserves indicates that there is already an abundant supply of credit available. The Treasury's action may be interpreted either as a new effort in the direction of a controlled economy or as an abandonment of the whole sterilization program. If the former, it is without value; but if the latter, it is distinctly encouraging. For while the sterilization did not affect the American price level one way or the other, it undoubtedly led to the accumulation of unneeded gold and had an adverse effect on prices and monetary stability abroad. The recent French financial difficulties can be traced, in part at least, to the continuous and unhealthy flow of gold to this country which was accentuated by our sterilization policy. If the Administration is determined on a "managed" monetary system, the least it can do is to allow gold to flow out to strengthen the countries less fortunate financially.

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THE JAPANESE THREAT TO CHENGCHOW, grave a week ago as a result of the collapse of the former Manchurian troops, appears to have been at least temporarily lifted by the success of the Eighth Route Army in cutting the Peiping-Hankow Railway in the rear of the invaders. Only one train is reported to have got through in a week between Paotingfu and Peiping, while farther south between Paotingfu and Shihchiachuang the former red army is said to control a seventy-five mile stretch of this vital artery of communication. To the north, in Shansi, Communist troops are gradually reconquering the province against the weakened Japanese forces. To the east, around the strategic junction at Suchow, Kwangsi troops under Li Tsung-jen have held the main Japanese army virtually stationary for two months. Although the main Chinese armies defending the Lunghai Railway are still in some danger of being cut off by a sudden southward drive along the Peiping-Hankow Railway, the offensive power of the Japanese seems definitely to be on the wane. Chinese morale is higher than at any time since the first weeks in Shanghai. After seven and a half months of undeclared war Japan finds itself with less territory than most foreign military observers expected it to win in the first three months. And every

week that the struggle is protracted adds to Japan's difficulties in obtaining essential war materials. Its own trade figures for December indicate that imports were 15 per cent less than for the corresponding period of last year, a drop necessitated by the decline of almost 50 per cent in silk exports.

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A MOVE TO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT is bound to meet suspicion and hostility with the country in a state of jitters over concentrating power in the President's hands. Mr. Roosevelt first proposed such a reorganization a little over a year ago. At that time we objected mainly to the provision for redistributing the quasi-judicial independent agencies and putting them under the roofs of various Cabinet officers. That item of the plan was a triumph of blueprints over governmental sense. We are happy that the revised Byrnes bill, now coming up for Senate discussion, specifically exempts these agencies. The other features of the new bill would distinctly improve the efficiency of the national government. Congress is given a check on any regroupings the President may make. A new Department of Public Welfare is created. The President is given six new administrative assistants. The Civil Service Commission is replaced by a Civil Service Administrator, appointed for fifteen years. The Comptroller General is replaced by an Auditor General, responsible to Congress and the President. A permanent agency is set up, to be known as the National Resources Planning Board, under which some of the newly emerging functions of national planning may be carried on. Opposition to these changes is already beginning to be heard. Amos Pinchot has written another of his interminable open letters to the President; Frank E. Gannett, as head of the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, has launched a campaign against the plan. Unfortunately for these gentlemen, there is very little in what they call the "third crisis" of the nation which will give this fight of theirs the popular appeal that their court crusade had. The Byrnes bill in its present form is a sane and effective step toward streamlining the executive branch of the government to aid in making it capable of resisting the pressures of a frantic world.

✱

IN OPPOSING A REOPENING OF WAR-DEBT discussions, Congressional leaders acted more wisely than they realized. While it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of the Administration in desiring to see this troublesome issue settled for all time, more is actually to be lost than gained from such a settlement, assuming that it could be achieved. Any resumption of payments large enough to be consequential would impose fresh burdens on the sensitive world economy and accentuate the current recession. And unless the settlement were substantial, which is out of the question, opponents of the Administration would be quick to take advantage of the "sell-out" to the European debtors. At present the debts are canceled for all practical purposes. It is to the ad-

vantage of both the debtors and the United States to allow them to remain so. If the Johnson Act stands in the way of world recovery—as it doubtless does—the most intelligent step would be to repeal the act on that ground rather than become involved in a futile and dangerous effort to revive the corpse of an issue which, as it was, lived beyond its day.

✱

WAR, OF COURSE, IS HELL, BUT IF WE MUST fight again, let's make everyone—including the wealthy—show more school spirit. Behind such cheerful camouflage, the Hill-Sheppard bill, designed to establish a war-time dictatorship in the United States, is once more being pushed. It was shelved a year ago after widespread protest; now, in the midst of a big-navy program, the bill's sponsors hope to find the atmosphere more congenial. The press continues to label it a "war profits" measure, ignoring the fact that it has virtually no bearing upon the status of war profits. What the bill does outline, with some mild concessions to public sensitivity, is the War Department's program for M-Day. It lays down the rules under which patriotic Americans will behave—or else—when the shooting starts. It intrusts to the President controls over our economic and civil life, from price-fixing to press censorship, which will stir envy from Rome to Jersey City. Scarcely less odious is the bill sponsored by Congressman May, which similarly promises to "equalize the burden" but neglects to indicate how that will be accomplished. In all these measures the fine hand of the War Department may be detected. Their reappearance with White House sanction is further evidence of the growing cynicism in our foreign policy. They are the domestic expression of a "big-stick" program. We sympathize with efforts to provide equal distribution of war-time suffering. But neither these nor probably any other measures will do just that. While wars are fought for profit, "dollar-a-year men" are not to be taken seriously.

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SINCLAIR LEWIS, AFTER SPENDING YEARS on his feet attacking the old fogies of American literature, has sat down—in Chair 17 of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Only a few years ago he said the academy represented not American letters today but Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. He has now accepted its invitation in a letter which sounds like an early Lewis burlesque of the letter of an author accepting a chair in the American Academy of Arts and Letters: "... it has not been until today that I could write you to express my feelings of honor at being elected ... and my pleasure in accepting it." Mr. Lewis has for some time now been indicating a belief that Sauk Center after all knows best. In his last book he took a house in Main Street and defended it against young upstarts whom he pictured as brainless reds. His acceptance of Chair 17 makes his position secure. He has made his peace with Babbitt and if you don't like it you can go back where you came from.

Surrender in Vienna

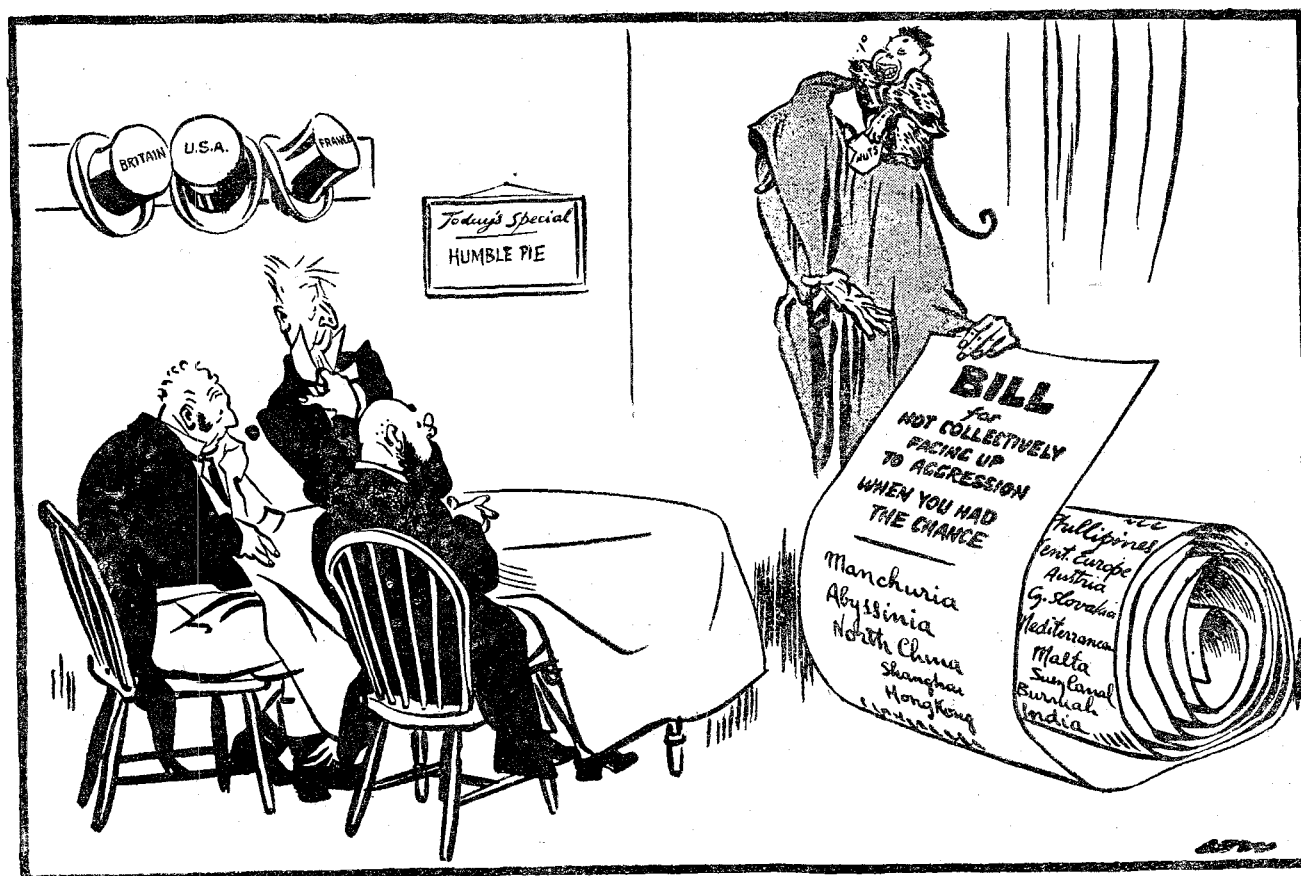
IN THE agreement for the "coordination" of Austria Hitler has won his first major victory on foreign soil with an ease that bodes ill for the future. For years proponents of democracy have been telling themselves that it was impossible to check Hitler's high-handed methods as long as they were applied within the borders of the Reich, but that the minute he reached out for foreign territory—such as Austria, Memel, or Czechoslovakia—he would be brought up short by international action. Hitler himself doubtless feared this, for he has moved with unusual circumspection. But by playing his hand skilfully he has achieved the ambition of every German statesman in recent years—Anschluss with Austria. And he has done so without serious risk of war.

His tactics were essentially those which he has used so successfully in the past, both in domestic affairs and in casting off the restrictions imposed at Versailles. After careful preparation backed by overwhelming force of arms, Hitler struck with bewildering speed, and presented his opponents with a *fait accompli*. While the intimidation of a minor power by display of arms can scarcely be construed as other than a violation of international law, Hitler very skilfully refrained from overt illegal action.

Without doubt the success of the Austrian adventure will strengthen the myth that fascism is irresistible. It will be said, with much truth, that the democracies have shown once again that they are unable to cope with a determined dictatorship in the international arena. Seven

years ago, when the Social Democratic government of Germany proposed a customs union with the Social Democratic government of Austria, the project was thwarted by the vigorous opposition of Italy and France and, to a lesser extent, Great Britain. Today when a vastly more dangerous type of union is consummated at the point of the bayonet by a dictator in Germany, both Britain and France hasten to indicate their lack of concern over the turn of events. There is even a suspicion that the coup was engineered at the suggestion of the dominant faction in the British government.

France professes to find comfort in the fact that the Nazi gains in Austria were primarily at the expense of Italy. Certainly no basic change has occurred in the line-up of European powers. Austria has long been completely under the dominance of the fascist bloc, the difference being that Mussolini heretofore held the whip hand. Yet it is obvious that the Duce has not surrendered his position in Austria without compensation. While it is not clear what price has been exacted, it may be assumed that it is substantial. The only concession which Mussolini would be likely to consider of sufficient importance to offset the loss of Austria is either an iron-clad military alliance between Germany and Italy or the promise of substantial aid to the Spanish insurgents. Either would seriously jeopardize peace in Europe; which is further endangered by the strengthening of the extremist element in Germany. There can be no doubt that the army opposed the Austrian adventure, as it did the Spanish campaign. But whereas caution prevailed in the case of Spain, the recent purge of the army and the triumph in Austria have greatly enhanced the power and



NEMESIS RESTAURANT.

prestige of the Nazi fanatics. It is highly possible that the next coup, which will presumably occur in Czechoslovakia, will not be executed with the finesse that has characterized the present one.

In fact, about the only comfort that believers in democracy can derive from the present situation is the hope that the Nazi extremists will be led to overplay their hand. Undoubtedly there will be a reaction. Already there are indications of sporadic opposition within Austria which might conceivably broaden into something approaching mass resistance. It is at least possible that the Nazis may go to extremes that will dampen the enthusiasm of the pro-German faction in the Chamberlain government.

It must be admitted, however, that hope of action by the democracies is slight, owing to the apparent lack of any realization that the fascist bluff must be called soon if at all. For in failing to take a stand against fascist aggression while they have overwhelming military preponderance, the democracies are not only making a world war inevitable, but are endangering their chances of victory when it comes.

Recession and Relief

THE late lamented recovery is only a memory in the public mind—except in the matter of relief. In that field the recovery psychology persists in spite of the unemployment census, which showed from 7,500,000 to 10,500,000 out of work in mid-November (the number has greatly increased since then) and in spite of the easily available evidence that the total relief need is uncomfortably close to that of the worst depression years. One-sixth of the population of New York City is on relief. Raymond Clapper recently reported from Detroit on February 2 that the number of families on relief of all kinds was within 3,000 of the depression record. What is even more conclusive, a report of the Social Security Board early in February said that telegraphic advices from ninety urban areas in twenty-nine states showed that the number of cases receiving general relief (not including regular welfare expenditures, WPA earnings, or loans and grants by federal agencies) increased 13 per cent from December to January. The reports showed that only about one-third of the reporting districts indicated an increase of less than 10 per cent; in ten urban areas the increase exceeded 40 per cent; and Flint, Michigan, headed the list with an increase of 285 per cent.

At present some 2,000,000 are on WPA work relief. State and local relief agencies were reported to be taking care of 3,500,000 individuals at the end of 1937. The additional WPA appropriation of \$250,000,000 passed by the House and now pending in the Senate will take care of 500,000 more, according to Aubrey Williams. The C. I. O. has asked that the figure be increased to \$600,000,000; the mayors' conference suggests \$400,000,000. Both groups are in a position to know what

the need is, and their figures are far more realistic. The President himself, in asking for the appropriation, said that 3,000,000 people had lost their jobs in the last three months. But the President's mind is running on battleships, and in general at the moment he is leaning toward "trickling down" relief through such projects as rearmament and transcontinental highways which also have a national-defense appeal. Meanwhile the drive to substitute a dole for work relief continues. The *New York Times* admits that if federal relief is to be administered exclusively on the basis of work relief more money is needed. But it complains that the present program spares the states too much, prevents a given amount of federal money from being "stretched" to cover more cases, and depresses business by increasing the deficit. It has been pretty well shown that the states have no magic purses in reserve. On the second point a recent report by a board appointed by Mayor LaGuardia speaks with eloquence. Home relief allowances in New York City—they are the highest in the country—are 40 per cent below maintenance standards and 15 to 25 per cent below emergency standards.

As for the deficit, since the Administration is following Great Britain's lead so slavishly in rearmament, it might also emulate its taxes. That would seem more advisable, from any rational point of view, than "stretching" relief to feed two where one was only half-fed before.

Franco's Conquest of the Atlantic

HEAVEN knows we don't look to the *Atlantic Monthly* for social guidance, and we have never ranked Ellery Sedgwick, its editor, as a potent force for progress. But until a short time ago we had always regarded him as a reliable, if not too exciting, journalist. Then General Franco invited Mr. Sedgwick to go to insurgent Spain to see for himself how grand it all was—and to write about it in the home press. If the customary procedure was followed, all Mr. Sedgwick's expenses were to be paid. Shortly before his departure Mr. Sedgwick was urged by Dr. W. B. Cannon of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to visit Loyalist territory as well while he was about it, but he declined on the ground that to do so would make him "persona non grata on the other side of the fence." He assured Dr. Cannon, however, that he proposed only "to write of what I see."

What Ellery Sedgwick saw in insurgent Spain is something hitherto vouchsafed only to angels and William Carney. Aside from the prosperity and happiness which abounded, what impressed him most, judging from the stories in the *New York Times*, was Franco's political acumen in the face of the seemingly conflicting groups that rushed to his banner. "Monarchists, great landowners, rich manufacturers," Sedgwick found, make

up only "a fraction of his support." "Progressives, as we should call them, follow him in great numbers, and tens of thousands of genuine radicals shout themselves hoarse in his honor . . . the liberal spirit is clearly in the ascendant." What Ellery Sedgwick ("we") calls progressives, is a little hard to guess, but by "genuine radicals" (as opposed to those spurious Loyalist radicals whom he contrarily labels "reds") Mr. Sedgwick says he means the Falangists—"loosely called the Fascist Party." These, he explains, are the followers of the son of Primo de Rivera—"a great administrator who brought peace and order to Spain for six years" until he was ousted because the King "distrusted his sympathies with the proletariat."

The Falange "is recognized" by Mr. Sedgwick "as essential to the success of Nationalist Spain," but it doesn't inflame the romantic imagination of the *Atlantic's* editor quite as much as those medieval relics the Carlist *requetes*. "Ah! the *requetes*. You see them . . . whenever the front-line trenches call for the bravest of the brave. No such romantic folk since the Highland clans came down from the hills to fight and die for the Pretender."

And so Mr. Sedgwick wallows on, making his *persona* more and more *grata* to General Franco until at the end of his sickening fantasy we find him pilfering even the Loyalists' fighting slogan for the benefit of his—shall we say?—host. "*No Pasaran,*" according to Mr. Sedgwick, "say the patriots now to the reds."

Note: A few weeks ago a fellowship was established at Harvard to give journalists a chance to improve themselves and thus "promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States." Among the overseers who will administer the fund is Editor Ellery Sedgwick. We'll try a correspondence school.

Kennedy vs. the C. I. O.

THE American people are being treated to as neat an exhibition of pre-fascist union-smashing as it has been our lot to witness. The principal figures on the scene are Senator Copeland of New York, Mr. Kennedy of the Maritime Commission, now ambassador to England, and Joe Ryan, head of the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Association of New York. Behind the scenes are more shadowy figures, notably the big shipowners on both coasts, the New York Tammany machine, Dave Beck and his labor-political machine in the Northwest, and the coalition of tory Senators and big employers.

The ordinary newspaper reader will find such an interpretation of what is happening rather far-fetched. He gathers from the papers merely that the heroic Mr. Kennedy has been turning his fine gifts to the task of creating order out of the shipping chaos; that the Senate Committee on Commerce, under Senator Copeland's chairmanship, has been doing its best to make the American flag and American womanhood safe from molestation at sea; and that to do this we shall have to

outlaw all ship strikes, establish compulsory arbitration, and send Harry Bridges back to Australia.

There can be no doubt that conditions at sea are bad. But they are bad in the sense that the men's food, wages, hours, and living-quarters would all be intolerable even for men not brought up to expect something approaching American standards. There can be no doubt that the labor situation in the shipping industries is disgraceful. But the disgrace lies in the fact that only a portion of the men have been unionized, that up to a year ago the dominant unions on the Atlantic coast were controlled by Tammany politicians like Joe Ryan, that the successful organizing drive of Harry Bridges on the West Coast has met with the foulest sort of strike-breaking tactics.

We do not regard Mr. Kennedy's schemes for subsidizing the shipping companies to the tune of some twenty-five million a year as anything more than a preparation for war. The announcement last week that the government was preparing to purchase three ships from the International Mercantile Marine in order to give that company a chance to build more ships with government subsidies fits in with such a war program. But whatever one's views on that question, they should not blind one to the unqualified gall and fascist tactics of Kennedy, Copeland, and Ryan in their attack on maritime labor.

Their program calls for outlawing strikes and for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes in addition to a government training school for the merchant marine. In his parting shot before he left for the Court of St. James's, Mr. Kennedy attacked Secretary Perkins for her courageous opposition to compulsory arbitration and pointed to the fact that the machinery he proposes is being used in the railway industry. The machinery is working tolerably well in railroads because that industry is already completely unionized, and the negotiations are carried on between two groups comparable in strength. But before the railroad workers achieved that position they had to go through a series of strikes that were bitterly fought by the employers. The maritime workers are going through just that process today. They have made good progress under Harry Bridges on the West Coast and Joseph Curran on the East. But if they are now saddled with the complications and delays of this mediation machinery, their use of the strike as an instrument for organization is as good as taken away from them. And as for negotiating with unorganized workers, the shipping companies will, of course, find that very much to their taste.

The big stumbling-blocks in the path of Mr. Kennedy, Senator Copeland, and Mr. Ryan are the C. I. O. maritime unions. The strategy of this trio accordingly is to hold over Bridges the club of deportation for alleged membership in the Communist Party, to hold the Senate committee hearings without allowing Bridges to appear, to intrench Tammany Ryan more strongly on the Atlantic coast, and to brand the whole C. I. O. as "communist." What is new is that the shipowners have now stepped into the background and that they are using the Senate as their national stage and a United States Senator and an ambassador as their stooges.

Austria—Last Chapter

BY LUDWIG LORE

WHEN the history of our times is written, the fifteenth of February, 1938, will not be forgotten, for on that day Germany conquered Austria without firing a gun or drawing a sword. Formally Vienna is still the capital of Austria; actually Austria is ruled from Berlin. Its long-drawn-out struggle against German domination has ended in capitulation without honor.

The question of a union between Germany and Austria arose for the first time in modern history when the national German parliament met in Frankfurt in 1848. What was to be the place of the Austrian monarchy in a united Germany? Were only the German provinces to be included or was it to be incorporated as a whole? The Austrians refused to split their empire in half. The Germans could not stomach the idea of including a vast non-German population. When Bismarck came to power in Prussia, he saw that German unity could only be achieved by the exclusion of Austria. The falling out between Berlin and Vienna over the Schleswig-Holstein question led to a definite breach between the two great German powers, to the campaign of 1866, and the collapse of Austria on the field of Königgrätz. Eight million Germans were cut off from all political union with their fellow-Germans.

The half-century that followed was outwardly uneventful, but internal affairs were marked by constant friction between the different nationalities included in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This nationality issue was a constant source of irritation to Austria's Balkan neighbors and culminated in the fateful assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914. The World War ended with the dissolution of the monarchy. Austria, with an area of 240,000 square miles and a population of 46,000,000 before the World War, was left a head without a body, comprising a total area of 32,369 square miles with a population of about 6,500,000.

Austria's new status as a German vassal is, without a doubt, the personal victory of Adolf Hitler, but the foundation for it was laid in pre-Hitler Germany. The world forgets that Anschluss is not a Nazi but a German policy, that long before Hitler, Social Democratic governments, in both Berlin and Vienna, called for a united Germany and Austria. Had the makers of the Versailles and St. Germain treaties been less short-sighted and less vengeful, who knows what the future of Europe might have been? As it was, Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain expressly commanded Austria to "abstain from any act which might, directly or indirectly or by any means whatever, compromise her independence." Lloyd George, who is so critical of the post-war treaties today, feared nothing so much as a peace that would give

Germany a chance to combine with German Austria and encircle the new Czechoslovak Republic.

The Anschluss idea was kept alive through the entire Weimar period. Socialists continued to demand a united German people in tremendous demonstrations, and we doubt whether any considerable group of Germans in either country would have been seriously opposed to an Austro-German Republic had the Allied powers been sane enough to permit it. The German Republic made a tentative move in that direction with its proposal of a customs union with Austria, but the powers turned thumbs down. It has been characteristic of all post-war "statesmanship" to give to reactionaries and fascists under duress what was refused to liberal and democratic governments. It was this blindness to realities that made the powers block the path of the liberal-democrat Karolyi in Hungary and then make concessions to the arch-reactionary Horthy. The sins committed by the Allied powers against European democracy during the first decade after the war paved the way for fascism.

Chancellor Schuschnigg, who appears before the world today as the knave who sold Austria's birthright, gave in to Hitler with a heavy heart. He knew that Austrian independence was a chimera, but he tried to keep up the fiction in the hope that another *Systemwechsel* in Germany would remove Hitler from his throne. A drowning man grasps at straws. Now Austria belongs to Germany, for better or for worse. Before long Germany will be a nation of 73,000,000 people, against 42,000,000 for France. For the present regime in the Reich that is a tremendous achievement. With Austria behind her, Nazi Germany is well on her way to becoming the dominant power of Continental Europe.

What does this mean for Czechoslovakia? Prague's submissiveness in the face of recent manifestations of Nazi aggressiveness points to the answer. "Allied" with France and "protected" by the U. S. S. R., she faces dismemberment and division by Germany, Poland, and Hungary. Poland and the Balkan states, which have tried to safeguard their independence by carrying on a nervous flirtation with the Nazi regime, are in a panic. France, their only bulwark against the Nazi Goliath, is hopelessly far away.

Messrs. Daladier and Sarraut may well weep over the chances they missed. When Hitler trampled the constitution of the German Republic under foot in 1933 France would have been justified, under the terms of the Versailles treaty, in sending her troops back into the demilitarized Rhine zone. This could have been done without losing the life of a single man. When Nazi Germany left the League of Nations nine months later, and when she rearmed immediately after, France had another

chance to enforce the Rhine guaranties. At that time Germany could not have offered more than a perfunctory resistance. When Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland in March, 1936, the Reich was so little prepared to back up its venture that the general in command of the German troops had secret orders to retire at once if France should offer resistance. But the Germans were good psychologists. As they had expected, France dodged the issue and allowed the potential enemy to advance to her very borders, relying on her magnificent chain of underground fortresses and ignoring the fact that the presence of the German army in the formerly demilitarized area would make it impossible for her to come to the aid of her allies in Eastern Europe.

France has not suffered such a decisive defeat since she lost to the Germans at Sedan in 1870. Since February 15 there is every indication that she will have to

play a secondary role in world affairs. Germany will leave no stone unturned, after her easy victory in Austria, to extend her control from the Rhine to the Dardanelles. If her plans succeed she will be, in the not distant future, the economic overlord of a bloc of some 150,000,000 people in an area that can supply her with practically everything she needs in food, oil, coal, and metals.

The last word, to be sure, has yet to be spoken. Germany's victory of today may still become her defeat of tomorrow unless Hitler and his associates have the wisdom to act with the utmost discretion for some time to come. It is inconceivable that England, France, and Russia will indefinitely stand by with folded hands while German fascism prepares to terrorize all Europe. Even the most peaceful of peoples must decide to fight when submitting to oppression is the only alternative.

Farm Aid—Fourth Stage

BY MORDECAI EZEKIEL

Washington, February 21

THE federal government has already gone through three stages of positive action in dealing with the problem of farm production and prices: Farm Board price-stabilization purchases in 1930-32, AAA commodity-control programs in 1933-35, and the agricultural conservation program of 1936-37. The farm bill just passed initiates the fourth stage.

The ever-normal granary is a dominant element in the new legislation. That concept, gradually evolved out of past experience with gluts and shortages, is a daring attempt to satisfy and protect both producers and consumers. For consumers, it encourages the establishment of reserve food supplies adequate to protect against short crops due to drought or other natural causes. Pinched recently by high prices for hams, bacon, and other hog products, consumers realize the need for such assurance. Those high prices, the direct consequence of the destruction by drought of half the crops of corn and other feed grains in 1934 and 1936, show the need of heavier feed reserves to protect against weather hazards. To farm producers the ever-normal-granary plan offers a guaranty that even in years of bumper yields prices and incomes will not be driven to disastrous lows.

To protect against future crop disasters, supplies at the end of the season will be built up to levels materially higher than in the past. Acreage allotments will be so adjusted that, with normal yields, carry-overs of wheat will run about 210 million bushels, as compared with an average of 140 million in the past. Carry-overs of corn will be increased by nearly 100 per cent. Meanwhile farm income will be maintained, despite the higher storage stocks, by benefit payments, commodity loans if prices are low and supplies are large, and parity payments.

These last, however, will depend entirely on whether appropriations for them are made hereafter.

Commercial producers of the several major crops will be given acreage allotments so calculated as to produce the supplies necessary to satisfy domestic and foreign demand and to provide carry-overs larger than the averages of the past. Producers who keep within these acreages, and who also carry out the soil-conservation practices that may be required, will receive benefit payments and be fully eligible for crop loans. But despite these acreage controls, bumper yields may produce crops larger than are anticipated, or carry-overs may prove to be larger than was expected when the acreages were allotted. If the current supplies are in such excess as to provide carry-over reserves of some 250 million bushels of wheat or 400 million bushels of corn, then marketing quotas will be imposed. These quotas will restrict sales for the season, with a penalty tax on sales in excess of individual quotas. Marketing quotas will become effective, however, only if two-thirds or more of the farmers to whom they will apply, voting in a referendum, favor them.

The law also formalizes the procedure for extending crop loans to farmers. It materially reduces the administrative discretion in handling such loans, and specifies the amount of the loans under given conditions. Minimum loans to cooperating producers of wheat, cotton, and corn will be at not less than 52 per cent of the parity price. Under existing conditions this would tend to put a floor to farm prices of approximately 60 cents for wheat, 43 cents for corn, and 10 cents for cotton. Loans will not be made in any season when the price is above 75 per cent of parity, except in the case of corn, for which they may be made in any year, regardless of price, when the corn crop is estimated at more than a year's

normal domestic requirements and exports. Loans will be available to non-cooperating farmers, but only at the low level of 60 per cent of the loan rate to cooperators. No loans will be available for a commodity in any season when its supplies are so heavy that marketing quotas are proposed for it but are rejected by the farmers' vote.

In actual operation, the program will not be devoid of difficulties. In essence it will tend to keep domestic market prices lower in years of small crops and higher in years of bumper crops than would otherwise be the case. In the case of corn this should tend also to hold live-stock production and prices within more stable limits. But for the export crops, especially cotton and wheat, complications may still follow. Holding our domestic price above the world market in years of large crops tends to check our own exports and to encourage expanded production elsewhere. (As a matter of fact, however, a large part of the increases of foreign cotton acreage has been in response to other factors, such as the low price of coffee or exchange depreciation abroad, which have no relation to our own cotton policies.) As an offset to this possibility, the pending legislation provides broader powers to "stimulate exports." Funds adequate to carry on a large export-dumping program, either in wheat or cotton, are not, however, provided; nor is there any assurance that exports could be subsidized on a large scale without leading to retaliatory action by foreign countries. If adjustment of production in this country were matched by concerted production adjustments in other countries, this difficulty would not arise. In a recent speech outlining his wheat policy, the Secretary of Agriculture expressed a willingness to revive the international wheat agreement, under which the leading wheat exporters had agreed to curtail production. Such action for cotton was once proposed by Egypt, but was never followed up. For this crop, for which our export market is still a major one, such an international agreement would be even more helpful than for wheat, but less progress has been made in that direction.

The increased emphasis on adequate supplies meets the accusation of "scarcity economics" which in the past has often been leveled at the AAA. As a matter of fact, scarcity as such has never been an objective of New Deal farm policy. Rather "balance" has been the keynote, to obtain the proper proportion between the supplies of farm products and the domestic and export demand for them. This resolves itself down to maintaining the proper balance between the production of farm products and that of industrial products. Larger industrial production and increased consumer buying power for farm products will be welcomed by farmers, and the demand gladly supplied, but low industrial production cannot be remedied by glutting the existing markets for farm products. Viewed in this way, the whole AAA mechanism is a device to put farmers, who formerly operated under free competition, in a position of bargaining equality with modern industry, which operates under the economy of monopolistic competition.

The soil-conservation features of the farm program are a protection to consumers even more than to farmers. If

soil depletion went to the bitter end of inadequate supplies of farm products, the major burden would fall upon consumers. Food would have to be shipped to this country from the distant corners of the earth; expensive artificial fertilizers would have to be used far more extensively than now; food prices would shoot up. Such possibilities do not seem far-fetched to anyone who has visited the productive black-land area of Texas and seen the infertile white subsoil coming to the top on the upper slopes of all the gently rolling fields, or who on the fertile loess bluffs bordering the Mississippi, from Wisconsin to Arkansas, has seen the ravines and gullies cutting back deeper and deeper, and great sheets of soil washing off slopes above. Nation-wide surveys show that already 35 million acres of good land have been destroyed by gullying or other forms of erosion, while more than half the remainder of our farm lands is in more or less advanced stages of top-soil destruction.

In its intensive demonstration projects the Soil Conservation Service (previously the Soil Erosion Service) is showing dramatically what can be done to hold the soil in place and to increase its fertility. The AAA, in its general soil-conservation program, is trying to spread such practices generally among all farmers. The program demands that an adequate proportion of the land of each farm be devoted to soil-improving crops; that not too much be used for the inter-tilled crops which deplete the soil or accelerate erosion; and that such production practices as the use of winter cover crops, terracing, strip-cropping, and green-manure crops be adopted to build up the organic content and fertility of the soil. From the point of view of soil conservation, the chief question is whether the AAA and the Soil Conservation Service can move fast enough to save much of the good land that is still left.

The new legislation, in many of its detailed provisions, provides for modifications of methods previously in use. Some of these changes may work well in practice; others may cause difficulties and require correction later. The marketing quotas, for example, in the case of tobacco, wheat, and rice are expressed in units of the commodity marketed, while for cotton they are expressed in terms of the actual yield of the given year on an allotted acreage. That would mean that in a year like 1937, when the crop is large solely because of unusually high yield per acre, the cotton marketing quota would have little effect upon the quantities marketed. On the other hand it might increase the effectiveness of the voluntary acreage control, since non-cooperators who greatly expanded cotton acreage would be penalized when selling the product of their excess acres if the sales quotas were in operation.



Secretary Wallace

The proposed stabilization of live-stock production through corn prices represents a new measure. Under the original AAA the voluntary contracts directly limited the production and marketing of hogs, as well as the acreage of corn. Under the soil-conservation programs of 1936 and 1937 there was no control of hogs, and control of corn was entirely voluntary. Under the new law the corn program will apply primarily to the commercial farms in regions of heavy corn production. In those areas there would be definite acreage limits on corn under the soil-conservation program, backed up by corn loans, and then by marketing quotas once the national granary was filled to the generous levels already mentioned. Three-quarters or more of our corn is fed on the farm where it is produced, and is marketed as hogs or cattle. Accordingly the "marketing quotas" for corn are to be enforced, not by penalizing corn sales, but by requiring that an appropriate share of the crop be withheld from the market. The stored corn would then be released for feeding or marketing in years of shortage. It is expected that this device will reduce the range of fluctuations in corn supplies and corn prices, and thus lead to more constant production of live stock and live-stock products. This recognizes the fact once stated by a Southern Senator during farm-bill hearings, "Why, suh, a hawg is nothin' but cawn on foah laigs."

The penalties imposed on sales above the quotas are of moderate proportions: 15 cents a bushel on corn and wheat, 2 cents a pound on cotton (or 3 cents a pound if marketed in a subsequent year), $\frac{1}{4}$ cent a pound on rice, with relatively heavier penalties on tobacco. Whether the threat of these moderate penalties, plus the loss of the soil-conservation benefits and of most of the loan privileges, will be sufficient to lead most farmers to cooperate in the adjustment program and will thus be adequate to

prevent continued excess production after the granaries are filled, is one of the questions which only operating experience can answer.

In many other details the new legislation shows efforts to meet problems which have arisen in the past. An attempt is made to provide a flexible basis for allotments to individual farms instead of freezing them in the rigid mold of past averages. The early AAA programs calculated individual farm allotments directly upon the "historical base" of average acreages on each farm in the years preceding 1933. Farmers who had already reduced their production of export crops or who were following good farm management with low cash crop acreages often suffered severe injustices. The present legislation modifies this rigid system in various ways, including use of a moving average of past acreages for distribution among states and counties. New effort is made to protect small farmers by providing minimum acreage allotments for them, increasing the benefits payable to them, and exempting them from some of the marketing quotas. Likewise, beginning in 1939, the total benefits payable to any one individual, partnership, or estate in any one state are limited to \$10,000.

In part, the new legislation crystallizes into definite statutory form administration devices which have evolved under the broad authorizations of previous legislation; in part it provides new and more powerful mechanisms. Some of these new mechanisms may work as expected; others may reveal defects which will require further modifications later on. The basic objectives of the new farm program remain much the same as under the current programs: to stabilize farmers' incomes; to assure consumers adequate supplies; and to protect both the farmers and consumers of the future by conserving our soil resources.

The Road to Peace

BY LOUIS FISCHER

THE outstanding fact in the world today is that wars are raging in three countries—in China, Spain, and Ethiopia. The greatest fallacy of our political thinking suggests that this situation offers only two alternatives: to stay out and allow the aggressor to have his way, or to go to war and stop him. If I thought so I should be an isolationist. I should say: let the aggressor run amuck; it will be years before he gets ready to strike at us, and any respite is a blessing. I have seen so much of the horrors of war in Spain during the last eighteen months that I would even be ready to advocate peace at any price. But I am convinced that isolationism is a greater menace to peace and to democratic institutions in this country than a wise American foreign policy based on free international collaboration with a view to preventing war.

The aggressors have been made bold by their successes. Manchoukuo, the Rhineland, Abyssinia, Spain, China—and now Austria. Nor does Austria bring the story to an end. In August the *Angriff*, official Nazi organ, said: "Money is being collected in Czechoslovakia for Soviet Spain. And who will later collect for Czechoslovakia?" The implication is obvious: Czechoslovakia is next. Why not?

France, England, the Soviet Union, and the smaller states are therefore alarmed, and announce unprecedented accelerations of already unprecedented rearmament programs. We do the same. The more progress Japan makes in China and the farther Italy and Germany penetrate into South America, where their support of Spanish fascism has earned them many friends (what happens in Spain is quickly reflected in the Spanish-

American republics), the more feverishly the United States will arm. We shall have a large military establishment, mobilization of industry for war purposes, greater surveillance of individual citizens, more repression, more reaction. Successful aggression stimulates the world arms race. So does the prospect of successful aggression. There is no use asking for smaller army and navy subsidies while wars are in progress or while aggression pays.

As the aggressors advance they must reach a line which the opposing armed giants, if they are to protect their national interests, cannot allow them to cross. And then a major conflict will ensue. This is the gravest implication of fascist conquests. Isolationists may believe that America can remain aloof. This immature notion is not shared by those who understand the complicated pattern of international relations. Once war has started, Ludlow amendments will not help. War must be prevented long before it becomes imminent. Measures like the Ludlow amendment would tend to draw us away from a policy of war prevention and toward one of stopping a war in the eleventh hour.

The road away from armaments and back to appeasement and peace must start in a conscious attempt to stop the assaults of totalitarian states upon unoffending peoples. The first duty of the true pacifist is to take the profit out of aggression. If one aggressive war ended in failure thanks to collective action, a second would be less likely. The choice lies between mad rearmament, plus frail dams like the Ludlow amendment to hold back the inevitable flood, and the reestablishment of peace by a policy of war prevention.

Peace can be reestablished by non-violent measures. The assumption that Germany or Italy or Japan would, if subjected to economic pressure, strike back in desperation is based on an error not difficult to disprove. Ever since October, 1936, the Soviet Union has helped Loyalist Spain with munitions. If it had not, fascism would now be triumphant in Spain. Have Germany or Italy attacked Russia in retaliation? No. France today pursues a pro-Loyalist policy which is immediately translated into greater Spanish war costs for Italy and Germany. Have the invaders of Spain moved against France? No. Hongkong is the gateway through which a broad stream of British and other war materials is entering China. The Japanese have not yet attacked Hongkong, or French Indo-China, or Soviet Siberia, whence the Chinese are now receiving airplanes and other weapons to defend themselves against invasion. The fascist nations have not struck back because they cannot. They are too weak. We often mistake their audacity for strength. They are merely made brave by other nations' passivity.

Poor Loyalist Spain, which began the war with no army and with political disunity, has been able to resist Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini. Germany and Italy have helped the rebels as much as their resources, their preoccupations, and the international situation permitted. Italy has had 200,000 soldiers in Spain. The two dictators have sent 1,800 airplanes to the disloyal generals and equipment for an army of half a million. Franco, accord-

ing to the London *Financial News* of January 10, owes Rome two and a half billion lire and Berlin eight hundred million marks. Germany and Italy will try to do more but it will not be enough. Their arm is too short. Meanwhile, the fascist investment in Spain has so weakened the investors as to prevent them from launching a European war. This is the Loyalists' contribution to world peace.

The Nazi *Frankfurter Zeitung* said on December 28 that when the rebels rose in Spain no one thought that the war would last longer than a few months. The Japanese were similarly mistaken about the war in China. The German theory of the short war has been exploded. Continued Chinese resistance will increasingly undermine Japan's economy. Will aggressor nations which cannot conquer their weak victims assume the additional task of attacking great powers which are helping those victims? The fact is that the powers which are aiding Spain and China have not been attacked although they are within easier reach of the aggressors than the United States.

Not only do the fascist states hesitate to fight the large countries. They even retreat when hard pressed by diplomacy. The Nyon conference against submarine piracy was one case. Again, a year ago, the French were disturbed by the German penetration into Spanish Morocco. On January 11, 1937, François-Poncet, the French ambassador in Berlin, told Hitler that these activities would have to stop. They stopped. No force was used. No force would ever have to be used. The moral and economic influence of the pacific nations would suffice.

America's contribution to this peace policy would be safe and inexpensive. It would consist, chiefly, in withholding from aggressors the materials which they need to pursue their murderous adventures. On January 11, 1938, the German steamer *Crefeld* sailed down the Delaware River with 200 aerial bombs. Its destination was a German port, where part of the cargo was to be unloaded, probably for reshipment to Spain. The remaining bombs were to be sent on to Japanese army depots in China. This was the first shipment of a 2,500-ton order of bombs for Germany and Japan. About the same time President Roosevelt appealed to the Red Cross to give a million dollars in relief to Chinese civilians.

It is not neutral to assist the stronger side. In accordance with the Neutrality Act we deny arms to Franco and to the Loyalists. Franco, however, needs no American munitions. He receives all he needs from Germany and Italy, and we sell arms to Germany and Italy. But the legal Spanish government suffers, and Spaniards die in thousands in air raids because the government is short of arms. Apparently impartial, we are in fact anti-Loyalist. We take sides by doing nothing. Though the sympathies of the American people are undoubtedly with China, we facilitate Japan's war on China.

The Neutrality Act should be repealed or at least amended so that it does not aid the bully and penalize the under-dog. Does any danger of war lurk in such changes? Suppose we sold arms to the Loyalists. Would Franco or Hitler or Mussolini attack the United States? At worst they could seize the foreign ships in which those arms

would be carried. The same applies to shipments of weapons for China. And always it must be kept in mind that nations are actually supplying China and the Loyalists without getting themselves into the slightest trouble.

United States government policy and the private attitude of Americans as expressed through a boycott can foster peace by making it clear that aggression will receive no encouragement or aid from America. We could, if necessary, proceed independently of others. But American efforts might be correlated with similar measures by the bourgeois democracies and the Soviet Union. The French and British have been guilty of imperialist robberies. They have bombed peaceful inhabitants in the Northwest Frontier of India, in Palestine, and elsewhere. I am under no illusions regarding the reactionary potentialities of these countries. But they want peace, for they know they can gain nothing from war. This is not a very idealistic reason, but it is all the more reliable since it is a selfish one.

We dislike hearing about struggles for democracy because Woodrow Wilson in 1917 camouflaged an ugly combat between rival imperialisms as a lofty crusade to make the world safe for democracy and to end all wars. Ever since we have been zealously on guard against such hokum. Now in Spain a feudal military clique, inspired and supported by reactionary foreign dictatorships, is trying to snuff out a democracy where civil liberties have manifested remarkable virility even in war conditions. China, painfully seeking to become a nation, is threatened by a neighbor who would make it a slave. England and France, in the past, did similar things. Yet France sympathizes with the Loyalists for national-defense reasons. England looks with disfavor on the Japanese thrust for imperialist reasons. We do not approve the reasons but we welcome the result.

In international politics, which is a hard-boiled game, motive and consequence do not always match. For instance, Soviet assistance in Spain stimulates revolution in Spain and contributes to the downfall of totalitarian fascisms, but it also aids the bourgeois imperialisms of France and England. The naive and malicious have contended that each of these effects is deliberately sought. The discerning realize that one effect is not obtainable without the others. So, too, the capitalist democracies may set out to defend their sordid interests and end by buttressing true democracies with advanced social programs.

It has been argued that if the fascist nations cannot obtain the raw materials they need and solve the problem of their excess inhabitants they will explode. I do not accept the facile division of the world into haves and have-nots. Was it to *have* that Mussolini took Abyssinia? Then why, before he had even finished fighting there and before he began economic exploitation of the country, did he plot to invade Spain? If Italy needs new lands because it is overpopulated, why does the Duce distribute prizes to encourage large families? In "Mein Kampf" Hitler objected to colonies for Germany, and wisely. For in 1913 Germany's total trade with its colonies—and it had held some of them for more than

thirty years—amounted to \$25,000,000, or .005 of its total exports and imports. It got practically no important raw materials from its colonies. Yet it was rich and powerful. First Hitler wanted no colonies. Now he insists on them. First he proposed autarchy, or national self-sufficiency. He still has his four-year plan for substitutes and armaments, but he has also struck out for foreign-trade expansion. Mussolini too talks of self-sufficiency and in the next breath of empire. The two aims are at odds. The point is that fascism seems to be the last chance for these countries to solve their problems within the present social system. Frantically they take up with first one panacea, then the other, then they merge the two; finally they appear to achieve partial success in both and nevertheless continue to pursue the same goals with a madness that suggests the eternally ungratified.

Japan, in 1931, asserted that it coveted Manchuria for its surplus population and as a source of natural wealth. Yet Manchuria's economic surface was scarcely scratched when Tokyo occupied northern China, and that enterprise was far from consolidated when it launched its present assault on all of China. The motive is not economic. It is insanity born of futility. Even in Poland, with its tremendous stretches of sparsely settled land, a large Polish organization, officially inspired, directs a movement to acquire for Poland distant domains in Africa, South America, and Asia.

Czarist Russia was a colossal empire. Yet it neglected opportunities for internal development to absorb vast new provinces in Central Asia and the Far East. Russia was a big "have," but it wanted to have more. The revolution in Russia changed the have which wanted expansion to a have which needs none. But fascist states are have-nots by their very political nature, and no Van Zeeland plan or raw-material redistribution will help them.

The millions in Germany and Italy who thought and voted liberal or democratic or Socialist or Communist are neither all dead nor all converted. Outside opposition to fascism heartens internal opposition, whereas foreign political victories for the dictators depress it. Domestic discontent cannot yet cause the collapse of Hitler or Mussolini, but it must be put down on the debit side of the ledger when the totalitarian governments count up the pros and cons of initiating a major war. In this calculation, too, the neutrals appear as assets. If European fascism were certain that the United States would refrain from helping the democracies, it would feel less reluctant to challenge them. If Hitler and Mussolini were certain that America and England would remain neutral, France would be in danger. The goal of Nazi foreign policy has been to foster American isolationism and to separate England from France, and France from the Soviet Union. Similarly, Japan, Germany, and Italy have sought to cripple the League of Nations lest it become an instrument of common action against aggression. The bitterest opponents of collective security are not American isolationists but Hitler and Mussolini. In May, 1935, Hitler urged that when hostilities break out between two nations "the other nations withdraw at once from both sides."

This is his idea of neutrality. Germany attacks Czechoslovakia, for instance. All other nations withdraw from the conflict. Germany wins. Hitler marches into France. Everybody remains neutral. Germany wins.

The aggressors seek to drive isolationist and neutral wedges between their potential enemies. At the same time, however, the aggressors themselves unite for collective insecurity under the guise of the "anti-Communist pact." This device fools some people, for communism is a very popular red herring. Yet the three fascist militarisms are concerned first of all with Great Britain, and it is British interests that have suffered most in Abyssinia, Spain, and China. Those who believe that collective security is a Soviet machination are taking the anti-Communist pact at its face value and Hitler and Mussolini at their word.

Even in their union, however, the fascist aggressors

lack complete cohesion. Germany and Italy cannot come to an agreement on strategy in Spain. Germany and Japan have not the same interests in China. Moreover, the fact that each of the aggressors is at war—Italy on two fronts—lessens the practical aid they can give to one another. The task of checking fascist aggression, while not easy, must therefore not be exaggerated. France and England must before long awaken to the necessity of resistance, and America's role would consequently be a minor one. If China and the Loyalists fight on for another year, the aggressors will be incapable of disturbing the peace much longer. Today collective security means help for China and Spain in stemming invasion. America could give this help without expanding its navy. But if past and present aggressions make us build a bigger fleet, people who don't like it ought to do something to oppose aggression.

Adrien Arcand, Fascist—an Interview

BY DAVID MARTIN

STUDENTS of modern history will be interested to learn that in the summer of 1934 Leon Trotsky visited the United States disguised as the valet of Baron Maurice de Rothschild. The trip was made via Shanghai. Upon arriving in the States, Trotsky conferred with Bernard Baruch and other members of the Roosevelt Brain Trust in the "Red House" in Washington and discussed with them the preparation of the Communist revolution in America. That, at least, is the story of Adrien Arcand, leader of the Quebec fascists, as published in *Le Patriote*.

Scarcely known to the public a few months ago, Arcand's name is today blazoned in the headlines. When newspapermen took photographs of blue-shirted fascists drilling under the instruction of ex-officers and began to write stories about a fascist movement 80,000 strong in the province of Quebec alone, the Canadian public sat up with a start. And it was still more perturbed when it learned that the provincial government was on intimate terms with the leader of the movement. Threatened with a federal investigation recently, Adrien Arcand, head of the P. N. S. C. (Parti National Social Chrétien), stated that he was prepared to march his men to Ottawa and display them to the Minister of Justice, and that "they would be better drilled and in better order than the soldiers they have down there."

The provincial government of Quebec, under Premier Maurice Duplessis, already shows strong fascist tendencies. Abetted by the Roman Catholic church, it is directing a campaign against "communism" that is destroying freedom of the press, speech, and assembly. Under the notorious "padlock" law, the provincial police have been raiding printing plants, bookshops, offices, and houses almost daily for several months. Certain news

commentators, impressed by the scope of the corporatist movement and by the Huey Long parliamentary manners of Duplessis, have even suggested that the establishment of a corporate state in the province of Quebec was only a matter of time. Arcand's National Social Christian Party is made up of avowed fascists openly working to that end.

Tall, angular, wearing easily a brown corduroy sport shirt, Adrien Arcand received me in the office of *L'Illustration Nouvelle*, the Montreal daily of which he is editor.

"Mr. Arcand," I began, "can you tell me something about yourself—your life, how you came to the fascist movement, your experiences in it?"

Arcand smiled. "Nothing interesting about myself. I studied to be a chemical engineer but after leaving college I became a reporter. From there I worked up to my present position."

"I have been told," I continued, "that you are conversant with a number of languages, among them Yiddish and Hebrew."

"Yes, I know several languages," Arcand replied. "I read Yiddish and Hebrew—not too well, but sufficient to permit me to follow the press."

I turned to other matters. "Now about your organization? Could you tell me briefly what you stand for?"

"Our organization stands for God, family, private property, and personal initiative." Arcand spoke very deliberately. "We believe that the Jews are responsible for all the evils in the world today. Through the two internationals that they control, the proletarian and the financial, they provoke economic crises and revolutions with a view to taking world power. The present system

is absolutely incapable of destroying the Jewish influence or of resisting communism."

"Do you stand for the destruction of democracy?" I asked. "In other words, if you were to take power in Canada, would you permit opposition groupings to continue to exist, or would you immediately legalize them, as Hitler and Mussolini have done?"

I had expected Arcand to be evasive on this point, but he answered squarely and without hesitation. "We will immediately legalize all other parties, declare unionism obligatory for bosses and workers, and organize the corporate state."

"If I understand you correctly, you are opposed to democratic liberalism because it tolerates communism?"

"No, that is not entirely so. Even if there were no communism we would still be opposed to liberalism, which is also an instrument of world Jewry."

I came now to a more delicate point. "How do you propose to take power in Canada?" I asked.

"We intend to take power by regular constitutional means—by means of a majority in the parliament." This was the answer I had expected. Arcand has consistently denied that his movement stands for force. The bands of men who are drilling under army officers? Mere physical training—"you won't find a sling-shot among them."

"Your organization," I said, "stands for the complete destruction of democracy and the parliamentary system. Yet you propose to take power by democratic and constitutional means. How can you reconcile your goal with the methods by which you propose to achieve it? How can you reconcile this position, moreover, with your support of Franco?"

"But the situation in Spain was entirely exceptional," Arcand exclaimed. "Law and order had broken down completely; churches were being burned; hardened criminals were being released from the jails. What is more, the Popular Front did not have a voting majority—the rightists had actually obtained 450,000 more votes in the elections."

"There is, of course, another side to that story," I replied. "But you stand solidly with Franco, you believe that his uprising was justified?"

"Entirely," affirmed Arcand.

"Let's bring the situation a little nearer home," I continued. "Suppose that a situation similar to that which confronted Franco did arise in Canada, would you do as Franco did?"

"If law and order broke down completely as it did in Spain—then, yes, I would resort to force to save Canada from communism." Conditioned as it was, I nevertheless had obtained the admission I was after.

"Now, about the size of your movement," I continued. "How many members are there in your organization and how big is your following?"

"From the showing which we made in the provincial and municipal elections," Arcand replied, "I would estimate our following at about 80,000 in the province of Quebec. That is the number of votes obtained by the candidates we supported in the last provincial elections."

From a many-sided investigation I knew that the figure that Arcand has claimed for his following is a grotesque exaggeration.

"Your paper is *Le Fasciste Canadien*?" I asked.

"Yes."

"It appears monthly?"

"Yes," replied Arcand—with irritation. Arcand himself and a number of his colleagues are modestly well off. With a following of 80,000 it should almost be possible for them to publish a daily. In 1933, at the time the P. N. S. C. was founded, his paper did appear as a weekly. But not today. He claims a circulation of 12,000 for it, but that is much exaggerated in the opinion of competent critics. Only a few newsstands in Montreal carry his paper.

"One of the chief sources of strength of the fascist movement in other countries," I said, "has been the sympathy which it has commanded in governmental and other nominally anti-fascist circles. Does your movement enjoy a similar support here?"

"Our movement is entirely independent," Arcand asserted. "We have no connections with the government or with any political party."

"You are the editor of *L'Illustration Nouvelle*?"

"Yes." *L'Illustration Nouvelle* acts as a semi-official organ of the Duplessis government. The attitude of Premier Duplessis himself has been one of complete tolerance towards Arcand's movement. And the columns of *L'Illustration Nouvelle* have within recent weeks been thrown open to the statements and proclamations of the National Social Christian Party.

"I understand also that you had an important position in the Conservative campaign apparatus during the last federal election?"

"I was in charge of their propaganda for the province of Quebec. I specialized in anti-Communist work."

"You are on friendly terms with Mr. Bennett? Could you tell me anything about Mr. Bennett's personal views on fascism?"

"Yes, I know Mr. Bennett. But we will have to give Mr. Bennett and the Conservative Party as clean a licking as anybody else."

"Your movement is sympathetic to the Nazi regime in Germany?" I asked.

"We are a national organization and we have no international affiliations," replied Arcand. "But we feel ourselves to be in moral solidarity with Hitler."

"What stand do you take on the conflict between the Nazi and the Vatican?"

"That is very far from here. We do not mingle in it."

"You do not support the Catholic church against the Nazis?"

Once again Arcand hesitated. "From this distance it is difficult to take a stand. We receive contradictory reports."

"I have heard," I persisted, "that your sympathy for the Nazi regime and your failure to support the Vatican against Hitler has resulted in the alienation of a considerable section of the Catholic church that formerly was sympathetic to you. The Catholic church in Quebec still

stands for corporatism and is sympathetic to fascism, but is opposed to your movement for that reason."

"The Catholic church is not fascist," insisted Arcand. "It stands for corporatism, but they do not know what they mean by this corporatism." It was obvious that I had touched a sore spot. Arcand paused before he completed his reply. "There are a number, a very small number, in the church who support us. But for each one who does there are at least two who are opposed."

"What about the story that you distribute Nazi propaganda in Canada?" I asked.

"It is entirely untrue," replied Arcand emphatically. "Most of our propaganda is printed in Canada. What little we import comes from the Imperial Fascist League in London."

"But what about this German-printed material that is being circulated in Canada?" I asked. "If your organization is not distributing this material, then can you tell me who would be? It is only logical to assume that just as the Nazis use material printed by you, you use propaganda put out by the Nazis."

"We have received an odd bundle of leaflets from Hamburg," Arcand finally admitted. "But by far the greater part of our imported propaganda comes from the Imperial Fascist League in London."

I delved into my brief case. "I have here a copy of a letter that you are supposed to have sent to a certain Major Frank Peace in Germany," I said. "Before I use it I should like to know what you have to say about it."

The letter I produced is dated September 28, 1933, and is addressed to Major Frank Peace, Bad Aachen, Germany. It begins with a report on Arcand's activities in Canada and concludes with this paragraph: "If it can help you, you can act as correspondent of *Le Patriote*, which is known to Hitler and which is very well appreciated by the Nazi propaganda bureau. If need be, use this letter. Don't forget to reach Lüdecke, a most estimable friend, who was in the United States for several years. I have great faith in him. . . . I am, faithfully yours, in our great Aryan cause, Adrien Arcand."

Arcand glanced at the letter. He was annoyed. "Yes, I remember that. Peace wrote to me telling me that he was hard up and I entitled him to act as correspondent for *Le Patriote*."

"You had connections with Lüdecke?"

"I met him in Montreal. I helped his wife buy a fur coat. I did not hear from him after that."

"Now, about the Communists," I continued. "Do you actually believe that they constitute a menace at the present time? According to their figures, you know, their membership does not exceed 12,000 in Canada."

"It is not the Communist Party alone that has to be considered," explained Arcand. "There are many people who say they are opposed to communism, but when you question them about political matters, they will give you typically Marxian answers—for example, they will be for the nationalization of certain industries. [Subsequently I found that Point 6 in the program of the P. S. N. C. calls for the nationalization or municipalization of all public utilities.] The Communists have at their disposal

not merely the one international; there are four internationals. On the surface they seem to have differences, but actually they work together under the direction of international Jewish finance. The A. F. of L., founded by the Jew Gompers, and the C. I. O., led by the Jews Hillman and Dubinsky, are integral parts of this movement."

"Your statements about the Jews are not believed by many people," I said. "It is a fact that there is not a single Jew on the board of directors of a single Canadian bank or mortgage company or of a single utility company or of the rail or ocean transportation companies. How is it possible for the Jews to exercise the control you say they do? You say the Jewish financiers inspire the Communist movement. But communism is opposed to the entire capitalist class. Jewish capitalists fight just as bitterly against communism and the workers' movement as do Christian capitalists."

"The Jews do not work openly," Arcand replied, "but they control everything nevertheless. The price of wheat is set by Louis Dreyfus in France; the price of diamonds by Barnata, Spavier; the price of nickel by Melcheta; the price of silver and copper by Guggenheim; the price of pulp and paper by Graustein and Dreyfus. The price of butter right here in Montreal is determined by the Sassoons in London." Arcand paused, pulled a five-dollar bill from his pocket, and snapped it. "You see this? It is worth only fifty-one cents on the dollar. Why? The Jewish International Gold Bank has decided that this shall be its value. By inflating currency, they reduce the purchasing power of the workers' dollar. The workers naturally become discontented and demand increases in wages. The Communists take advantage of the movement to advance the revolution. It has been proved that Jacob A. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb and Company in New York financed Lenin and Trotsky through the German Westphalian Bank, which was controlled by a cousin of the American Jew, Warburg."

I thought this would be an ideal time to pop certain questions I had been holding in reserve, and I reminded him of the fantastic Trotsky story printed in *Le Patriote*.

"These things sometimes happen with newspapers," explained Arcand a trifle embarrassed. "There were some rumors to that effect." (*Le Patriote*, at the time, had prided itself on being the first paper in the world to carry this earth-shaking news.)

"There is one other story I have in mind," I continued. "In your issue of last September there appeared a note which told of plans for a Communist coup in Toronto and how they were frustrated by police vigilance. I was in Toronto at the time and I heard of no such plans."

"Premier Hepburn himself spoke about the danger of a Communist uprising," insisted Arcand. "According to the plan, the Communists were to start strikes and riots in the course of which the majority of the Liberal Cabinet were to be killed off. The surviving members were then going to set up a dictatorship."

I could not suppress a blink. "You mean to say that members of the Liberal Cabinet, people who are bitterly opposed to communism, would actually participate in a

Communist plot to overthrow the government and establish a Communist dictatorship?"

"Not actually a Communist dictatorship," Arcand explained, "but one that would push towards communism. Liberalism, after all, is only a name."

"I notice that the last issue of *Le Fasciste* opposes the proposed military appropriation of the King government. How do you reconcile this with your rejection of French Canadian nationalism and your support of the British Empire? Are you also opposed to Britain rearming?"

"We believe that Britain has to rearm in order to defend her interests. But against whom is Canada rearming? There are only two possible sources of invasion—the United States and the Eskimos. From the latter we have nothing to fear; the former we could not hope to resist."

"I notice that your paper supports Japan against China. Would the fact that a large part of the present appropriation will be devoted to fortifying the Pacific Coast, obviously against the eventuality of war with Japan, have anything to do with your stand on the military budget?"

"No. If there actually should be a foreign invasion, Canada could not hope to add anything to the fleets of the United States and Great Britain."

"What about the fascist movement internationally?" I asked. "Do you think there will be civil war in France?"

"Much worse than in Spain," was the reply. "I expect it any time. Belgium may make a final decision this year as may also Yugoslavia and Denmark."

"What about the fascist movement in the United States?" I asked.

"In the States, too, things are rapidly approaching a climax. I would estimate that the forces of the left have

22,000,000 against 24,000,000 for the forces of the right."

"Don't you think those figures are somewhat exaggerated?" I suggested. "After all, even if we accept your characterization of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. as Communist, their combined membership would hardly exceed 8,000,000."

"The figures I gave take into consideration their families and dependents," was Arcand's explanation.

I rose to leave. "Oh yes, one more question," I remembered. "What do you intend to do with the Jews? Kill them off?"

"The Jews? We will ship them all to Madagascar. The French and Polish governments have investigated the island and according to their report it is capable of sustaining 110,000,000 people. We will not give it to them for nothing, of course; we will make them pay for it. Rothschild personally can pay \$1,000,000,000. I have nothing against the Jews as long as they leave us alone. I would like to see them all together and happy. Palestine would be all right, but it is too small."

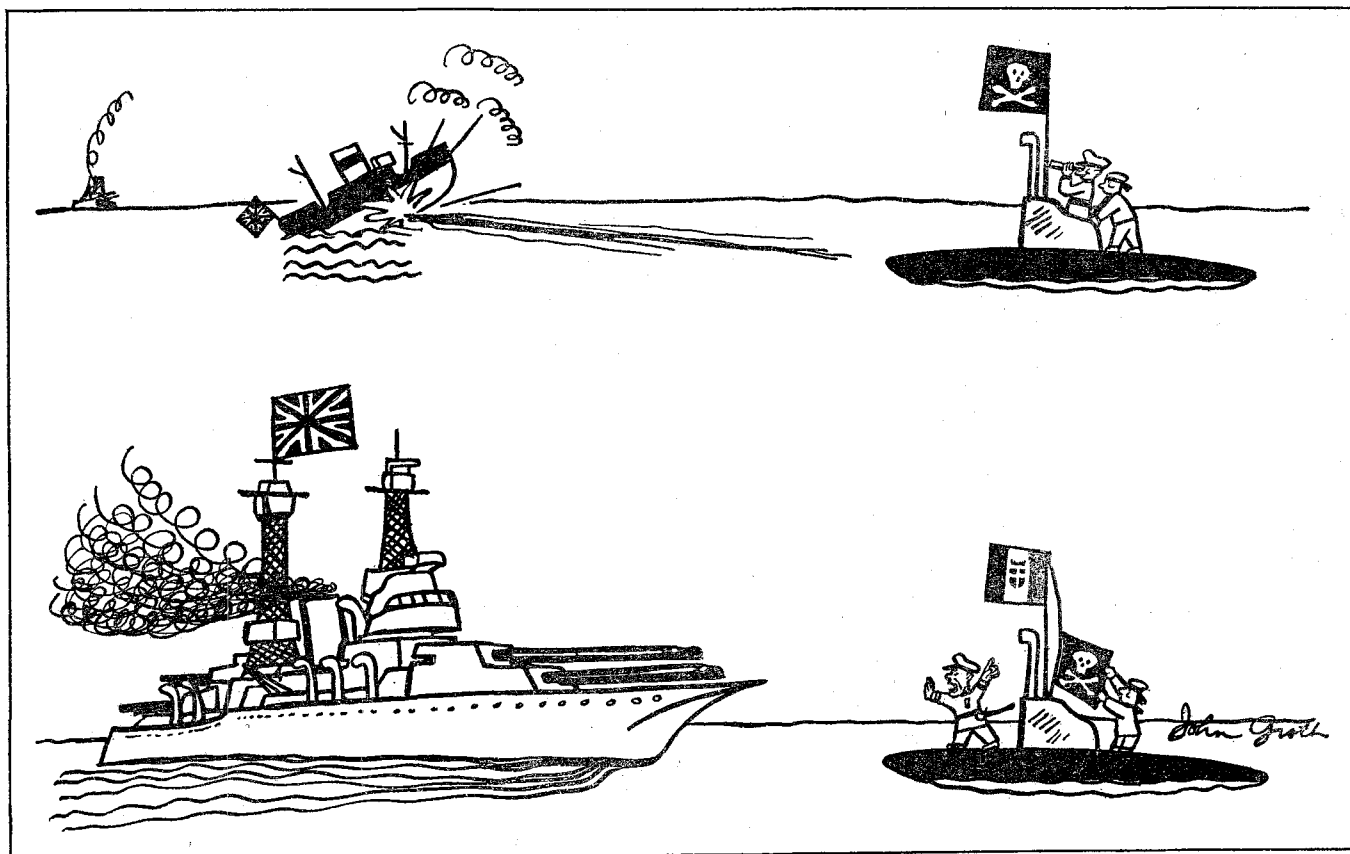
"We could put you down as a Zionist, then?" I asked.

Arcand laughed and waved his arms. "The greatest Zionist in the world!"

That is Adrien Arcand.

I also spoke to Hubert Desaulniers, provincial secretary of the C. C. F., who, ironically enough, used to sit next to Arcand in school.

"People thought that Hitler was crazy, too," Desaulniers told me. "But he took power in spite of, or perhaps rather just because of, that."



Quick-Change Act in the Mediterranean

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I WISH that these lines might be read by every voter in the state of North Dakota. My reason is that Senator Gerald P. Nye is up for reelection this year with the primary looming quite near at hand, and I should like every voter to realize that the whole country has a stake in that election. For Gerald Nye has made himself not only one of the most valuable members of the Senate, but a great leader in the fight for peace. His loss to the Senate now, when we are being rushed into war by the utterly mistaken policy of the Administration, and especially by Secretary Hull, would be incalculable. The nation needs him, for he has refused to allow himself to be bamboozled by the militarists or by the diplomats whose statesmanship has broken down.

I well remember when Senator Nye first came to Washington twelve years ago. He seemed extremely youthful and callow; he was in fact quite inexperienced in the ways of Washington. He had not held high office before but had made his reputation as a small-town editor. He did not give the promise of Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota or of others who arrived at that time; but as the years have passed, Gerald Nye has made not only a national but actually an international reputation. No more valuable job has been done in Washington in the last quarter-century than the munitions inquiry which Nye headed. True, the idea of it did not originate with him. But he was quick to see the value of the proposal, and he accepted the task when many another would have given a dozen different reasons for declining. It meant an enormous amount of work; it meant that he would be subjected to all sorts of pressure and incur much unpopularity. But he went at the job with an understanding and courage beyond all praise. That alone should entitle him to reelection.

The repercussions of the munitions inquiry had astounding results abroad. It brought about armament inquiries in Canada and Great Britain, and in Canada resulted in regulations giving the government close control of the export of munitions—if my memory serves. In England the inquiry was soft-pedaled by the government and failed to produce the hoped-for action. I have no doubt that the facts uncovered by the Nye committee helped the government of Léon Blum in France to nationalize the munitions industries—the change is reported to be working well and to be aiding French preparedness for war. Here the inquiry made literally millions of Americans aware of the international alliances of the "merchants of death" and enormously stimulated the demand for taking the profits out of war. Its reports are sought and utilized by students of war and peace all over. With war looming on the horizon today,

it would hardly be short of a crime if the voters of North Dakota should be misled into keeping Gerald Nye at home.

There is unfortunately some danger of that, for it is to be a three-cornered fight. The Senator may have to run independently. If the men he has exposed and thwarted can contrive it, he will be defeated. Certainly the munitions makers would not be above sending money into his state to defeat him, and the war-makers among us would hail his defeat as a turning of the tide, as proof that America has become war-minded and that therefore they can go ahead with their schemes to have us at war within three months. But it is not only the militarists who would rejoice. They are not the only ones who have found that they cannot control the Senator from North Dakota. Nye was chairman of the Senate committee which ferreted out the Continental Trading Company during the oil scandals. This led to the jailing of Sinclair, the removal of Robert Stewart as president of the Standard Oil of Indiana, the recovery of millions in taxes for the government, and the preservation of oil resources worth hundreds of millions of dollars. Always a liberal and a progressive, he has never let his being a Republican keep him from being independent. He has voted for New Deal measures whenever he could, but he has also courageously criticized the National Labor Relations Board, the NRA, or any other New Deal creation whenever his conscience told him to do so. That is the great thing about Gerald Nye—he votes not as he is told to vote but as his conscience dictates; and that is so rare a quality that it would call for his reelection even if his career had been quite inconspicuous.

Of course Nye has made mistakes. Who has not? Who could find his way through the economic confusion and turmoil of this day and generation, the welter of legislation of every conceivable kind with which a member of Congress is confronted today, without making mistakes? I have had a long and unusual experience with issues and men in this country and abroad, yet I realize clearly how inadequate I should be in dozens of fields if I were suddenly dropped into a seat in Congress and told to help legislate for the benefit of all the people. Nye has really done his best. No one has ever questioned in my presence his absolute courage, sincerity, and honesty, qualities which should win him forgiveness for many more mistakes than he has made. They tell me he has done a lot for his state, getting much federal aid and money. I do not doubt it, but that seems to me far less important than the things I have recited. Liberals everywhere who can help in any way to keep Senator Nye in the Senate should not lose a moment in getting to work.

BOOKS and the ARTS

COLUMNISTS ON PARADE

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AN AUSTRIAN friend has remarked that if America had coffee houses it would not have columnists. But we have no coffee houses and we do have columnists. Their words, sentences, paragraphs—the model syndicated column should be capable of being cut in lengths, like yard goods—fall into the minds of millions every day. One cannot read a column of Hugh Johnson's without being convinced that the General is convinced that he is riding that mettlesome steed Public Opinion. One cannot help wondering if he really is.

The syndicated column as we know it is largely a post-war growth; the Lippmann-Thompson variety is a product of the past few years. "Most anything" columns of verse and aphoristic comment were once typical. B. L. T., F. P. A., Don Marquis, and H. I. Phillips have been in that line, and the commentator goes far back into our journalistic history. It persists locally—Jack Raper's column in the *Cleveland Press* which is called "Most Anything" is said to be the oldest continuous one of this type; but it does not syndicate well. The pseudo-sophisticated gossip of O. O. McIntyre or Walter Winchell was better suited to the uses of commercialization than what was by comparison the column of an age of innocence. McIntyre, who has just died, had the widest circulation of all with the possible exception of Dorothy Dix, who is an exception any way you look at it. (She is a real person and has been advising the lovelorn since the nineties.) McIntyre's column was dispensed to 508 newspapers having a circulation of 15,000,000; its appearance was two weeks removed from its writing and much farther removed from reality. That was its appeal. But the political columns seem to be operating in a rising market. The Washington Merry-Go-Round by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen appears in 313 newspapers (circulation nearly 12,000,000). Paul Mallon's distributors claim for his News Behind the News 200 newspapers, which sounds plausible, with a circulation of 25,000,000, which doesn't. But though concerned with politics, these columns fall more accurately into the category of gossip. They have also gone in for prediction. Some trace this to the Winchell influence and predict decline on the ground that the public doesn't forget as quickly as the predictors suppose. The literary column never had anything like prosperity. The "inspirational" column had a heyday with Frank Crane, whose circulation is said to have rivaled that of Lippmann; it has found a new prophet in Dale Carnegie, who has been hired by 200 newspapers in three months, while the rising tide of Frank Buchman's pabulum—"The secret of changing human nature and giving everyone a new start" (Advt.)—suggests another candidate.

Syndicates and syndicated columns are naturals in a country of prodigious size and high technique. Their growth also coincided with the commercialization of journalism. In this process the independent editor went down as a public figure. The editorial page as it flourished under Greeley, Godkin, Watterson, and Villard faded out in newspapers confronted with ever-mounting costs and depending for their main support on advertising. Today's social-political columnists are in one sense substitutes for yesterday's fighting editors—with a difference which will appear as this series proceeds. Certainly they demonstrate that the demand for personality and strong opinion persists.

Every field has its commentators from Hollywood to science. They may be divided into the gossipers who dispense a soothing opiate of vicarious experiences of the rich and famous, whose function merges into that of the pulps; the service trade; and the Molders of Public Opinion. Here is a list of representative molders in the big press with their alleged circulations:

Free lance, mainly political

Walter Lippmann	 160 newspapers	 8,000,000
Dorothy Thompson	 140 "	 7,500,000
Hugh S. Johnson	 67 "	 4,179,583
Boake Carter	 92 "	 11,000,000

*Writers from Washington**

Mark Sullivan	 54 newspapers	 4,000,000
Frank Kent	 112 "	 7,000,000
David Lawrence	 100 "	 3,000,000
Raymond Clapper	... 49 "	 3,653,385

*Walter Lippmann, I understand, has just moved to Washington.

Free lance, personal

Westbrook Pegler	 110 newspapers	 5,907,389
Heywood Broun	 42 "	 2,829,487

Inspirational

Dale Carnegie	 200 newspapers	
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Unique

Eleanor Roosevelt	 62 newspapers	 4,034,552
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Two columnists just budding into syndication seem to indicate minor trends. The two have nothing in common except that they are both Tories and both write only once a week. George Sokolsky, who speaks for an intensified reaction, has landed in twenty-five newspapers in a year, which is accounted good for a weekly column. Lucius Beebe has only ten papers, which nevertheless must make him feel almost common; and within his little kingdom he is something of a cult. Will his New York fill the place of O. O. McIntyre's west of the Hudson? The smart sets of Fort Worth and Kansas City swear by him, and

the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* printed the *New Yorker* Profile in full, with a four-column photograph. In Detroit no paper subscribes to his super-sophisticated fare, but all the papers, I was told, send reporters to meet him when he comes to town. Mr. Sokolsky is met by a different set—the Weirs and Girdlers. His most flaunted proof that he knows what he is talking about when he denounces labor unions and the left is that he used to associate with radicals himself. Since then he has crawled so far back into the womb of capitalist reaction and Jewish orthodoxy that he can easily be mistaken for a feudal remnant. From his warm retreat he recently announced: "I recognize Herbert Hoover as my leader in the Republican Party . . . its vital intellectual force." As I write his scope is being extended, by radio. In the language of *Variety*:

National Association of Manufacturers is gifting stations with free transcriptions to propagandize the N. A. M.'s economic views. George E. Sokolsky talks on the quarter-hour discs, . . . 235 stations around the country have agreed to carry the wax series on a once weekly basis.

Much of my factual information has come from the offices of syndicates, notably all figures, and the atmosphere of a syndicate office may be described as fond, like that of a champion's dressing-room. "Odd" McIntyre was the star at McNaught's. Eleanor Roosevelt, though her circulation is smaller than some, is tops at United Features, where she is called a "great trouper" and where her two remarks on being approached with trepidation for a newspaper diary are office lore. The first was, "When do I start?" The second was, "What's the deadline?" She never misses deadlines and she never "pulls a prima donna." When I called Walter Winchell's secretary, the warm air rolled right into the telephone. He is syndicated in over a hundred newspapers and he appears, believe it or not, in London, Honolulu, and Paris. In French? In this atmosphere figures expand, and while they indicate relative popularity, since the air of one syndicate is perhaps no warmer than that of another, they cannot be taken literally.

In an age of transition, in which propaganda has become a decisive force, today's journalism helps, if only by a molecular process, to shape tomorrow's society. It is clear that the commentators must rise to eligibility through the selective mechanism of an industry which has huge investments to defend and adheres to Elisha Hanson's interpretation of freedom of the press. Are they merely the froth on the beer? Or do they have an independent function in a democracy that does not know where it is going and is only less ignorant of where it has come from? Do they express public opinion? Do they influence it? What is public opinion?

The current search for definitions has become so feverish and so fashionable that the blunt citizen is in danger of turning anti-semantic, but when it is not an escape it has its uses. Dr. Gallup had no ready definition of public opinion but agreed tentatively that it might be defined as that part of mass opinion which has means of express-

ing itself. Mass opinion presumably expressed itself rather widely in the last election—and was completely at odds with public opinion as represented by the dominant press. A new poll just taken by Dr. Gallup's institute indicates that in spite of the hammering of the press, including the commentators, mass opinion is still with Roosevelt in almost exactly the same proportion as on Election Day, 1936. If the C. I. O. had a newspaper comparable to the *New York Times* in size and prestige a great new sector of mass opinion might be given voice. But that is a good many strikes in the future.

This latest Gallup poll speaks badly for the influence of the Molders of Public Opinion. *Fortune*, in a survey published in January, 1937, calculated that the leading columns were read regularly by only 15 per cent of the adult public. It also said that 66.3 per cent of the "politically definite" readers of *Brisbane*, since deceased, voted for Roosevelt; 32 per cent of the Lippmann clientele did likewise. The *Brisbane* figure is interesting because the Hearst papers have a mass rather than a "class" circulation. Mr. Lippmann once wrote a book called "The Phantom Public." The findings of Dr. Gallup and *Fortune* suggest a Phantom Press and even a Phantom Lippmann. But this cannot be. The Public, the Press, and Lippmann are too much with us.

Whatever the facts, the columnist writes as if he were molding public opinion. This high consciousness is indeed one attribute of the columnist. If we think of public opinion as a whole herd of horses of many different colors, are Thompson, Pegler, Lippmann, Johnson, and the others expert horsemen, wielding the crop of free speech, reining their chargers toward the America of the future? Or are those gay-colored horses mounted on a merry-go-round with central music? Or both? The columnists themselves may yield some answers. Beginning with the mellow holiday season, when columnists, like other human beings, begin all over again, let us review their talk of the past few weeks. We should be out of the trenches by Easter.

[Next week: Westbrook Pegler.]

BOOKS

The Revised Communist Faith

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT. By Earl Browder. International Publishers. \$2.75.

SINCE Mr. Browder is not only the most official but also the ablest spokesman of Communist policy and strategy in this country, it is valuable to have his addresses and essays of the past two years gathered together in book form. "The People's Front" offers the thoughtful reader the opportunity to make a careful examination of the tenets of the revised Communist faith and to analyze its implications.

The burden of all Mr. Browder's utterances can be summed up in two categories. The one deals particularly with foreign policy and is expressed in the title of his book. The other is

concerned with domestic policy and is summarized in the slogan of the party: "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism." That is, the Communist Party offers itself as a vanguard of the forces of democracy, seeking by the policy of collective security to stop the fascist nations before they engulf the world in war; within the nation it presents itself as a force "continuing the traditions of 1776 and 1861; it is really the only organization entitled by its program and work to designate itself as 'the sons and daughters of the American Revolution.'"

The foreign policy of "collective security" so strongly advocated by Mr. Browder is too well known to require elaboration. It is a policy, he declares, "which will keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world." This line requires that a significant distinction be made between the peace-loving democratic nations and the "fascist war-makers." While this is an obvious, though not an admitted, deviation from orthodox Marxism, which allows for no distinctions between types of capitalistic imperialism, it may be well to waive that point for the moment. As one who is in general agreement with the policy of bringing collective pressure to bear upon the fascist powers, the writer's difficulty with Mr. Browder's position lies in what seems to be a certain lack of candor in presenting it.

There is no suggestion anywhere that the peace-loving nations love peace not so much because they are democratic as because they are the satisfied imperial powers. Failure to mention this point makes it impossible to assess correctly the possibilities of making collective security effective. The fact is that the so-called democratic powers have failed in every significant instance to use their economic power against fascist aggression. They want peace no doubt, but inner contradictions in their class structure make it impossible for them to proceed resolutely against the fascist nations. Instead, they build up huge armaments for an eventual conflict. Mr. Browder declares himself opposed to an increase of armaments but it cannot be said that the party is very vehement upon that point.

The simple reason is that while the party sincerely wants peace it also wants powerful allies on the side of Russia in an eventual conflict. In other words, the fortuitous alliance between Russia and the satisfied imperial powers makes impossible a completely realistic analysis of the present international situation from the official Communist perspective. It would be a splendid thing if we could stop the fascist nations by collective action. But the time for doing that is rapidly running out. If war should come upon us because of this failure of the democratic capitalist powers, the question is whether the workers should be encouraged to participate in it or not. Upon that question Mr. Browder is silent. If the present line were followed consistently it would lead to a participation in the war on the side of democracy against fascism. But to advocate it would require something more than a careful choice of proof texts from Marx and Lenin. It would necessitate a drastic and obvious revision of Marxian theory.

In domestic politics Mr. Browder's espousal of the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party and the cooperation of his party with it leads him to an appreciation of the American revolutionary tradition which carries him rather far beyond Marxian analysis. "Lincoln," he declares, "carried the fight against reaction to the American masses. He roused and mobilized them for an offensive against tyranny, for liberty and democracy." One would not guess that the Republican Party of Lincoln's day, which Mr. Browder counts as a ban-

ner bearer in the revolutionary history of the country, was composed of Northern industrialists and Western farmers and that the dominance of the former in its councils is responsible for the gradual reactionary corruption of that party, a development which Mr. Browder regards as "one of the ironies of history."

The present party line is probably more correct and fruitful than the old one. It is probably both pedagogically and historically correct to relate the struggle of the worker to the previous struggles of bourgeois democracy, as a new chapter in an essentially progressive development. But if this revision of policy is not undertaken with complete candor, the task of relating the worker's cause to that of the farmer for instance is obscured. Mr. Browder does not allude in a single page to the desperate difficulty of bridging the chasm between the small farmer and the worker, a difficulty vividly illustrated by the tension between the Radical Socialists and the Socialists and Communists of France. Fascism can probably be avoided only if a way of cooperation between the radical workers and the petty bourgeoisie is found. But that difficult problem can only be solved by conscious and candid revisions of party platforms and by analyses which recognize basic incompatibilities between these two groups.

It is unseemly for a very unorthodox Marxian to engage in heresy hunting, but while on the subject of candor it does seem strange that an obvious revision of the party line is never admitted. On the contrary, Mr. Browder consistently maintains that the Trotskyites are merely fascist allies and that his group alone follows the orthodox Leninist line.

A few quotations comparing Mr. Browder's present sentiments with official Marxian doctrine will reveal the extent to which he has gone in making communism respectable.

Mr. Browder declares:

The Communist Party is not a conspirative organization, it is an open revolutionary party, continuing the traditions of 1776 and 1861. . . . The Communist Party is a legal party and defends its legality.

Lenin on the other hand has this to say on legality:

The crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie is violating legality in every country, including the freest, and that it is impossible to lead the masses toward revolution without creating an illegal organization for preaching organizing, discussing, preparing, revolutionary means of struggle.

Mr. Browder writes of democracy:

It is a popular superstition, which it is the main task of our party to dispel, that Communists are anti-democratic. This arises from a vulgar interpretation of our slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the means of transition to socialism. The Communists are not and have never been anti-democratic. The Communist program is only realizable through the fullest possible extension of democracy and the realization of democracy on a scale which has not been dreamed of in this country.

Lenin says upon this point:

What forms a necessary aspect or a necessary condition of dictatorship is the forcible suppression of exploiters as a class and consequently an infringement of pure democracy, that is, of equality and freedom in respect to that class. . . . Kautsky has evaded this, the only important theoretical question. He has quoted all sorts of passages from Marx and Engels except the one relating to the subject and quoted by me. He talks about everything which may be pleasant to bourgeois liberals and democrats and does not go beyond their system of ideas. As for the main thing, namely, that the proletariat cannot triumph

without forcibly suppressing its enemies and that where there is forcible suppression there is of course no "freedom," no democracy—this Kautsky did not understand.

Mr. Browder declares:

The Communist Party repudiates now as in the past all theories and proposals looking toward the forcible imposition of socialism or any Utopia upon the majority of the people. We repudiate the "reckless resolve to seize power" by any minority.

Lenin says:

To suppose that in any serious revolution the issue is decided by the simple relation between majority and minority is the acme of stupidity, a typical delusion of an ordinary bourgeois liberal. . . . The truth is that in any and every serious revolution a long, obstinate, desperate resistance of the exploiters, who for many years will yet enjoy great advantages over the exploited, constitutes the rule. Never except in the sentimental Utopia of the sentimental M. Kautsky will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without making use of their advantages in the last desperate battle or series of battles.

I suspect that Mr. Browder still agrees with this analysis but he obscures the reality of his agreement with vague phrases about democracy as the rule of "the people." What people? He declares:

So long as the people can control their government there will be no necessity of a bloody revolution. If capitalists would submit to the decisions of the American people the change to socialism will be bloodless.

Everywhere Mr. Browder artfully implies though he does not say that communism will fight reaction only if reaction seeks to overthrow a constitutionally created government as in Spain. Surely this is not the authentic position of communism on the role of democracy in the class struggle.

On the question of religion Mr. Browder declares:

The reason the church suffered from the revolution in Russia was because it was a state church. If the church separates itself from the state and confines itself to the proper sphere of religion it has nothing to complain of anywhere.

He adds what seems to me a perfect gem of understatement:

We Communists, in general, are not adherents of any church. In this respect we follow the example of Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Paine.

Lenin says:

The masses must be provided with every species of atheist propaganda . . . must be approached by every possible avenue in order to kindle their interest, waken them from their religious slumber, in short, arouse them by every possible approach and in every conceivable way.

One may, as the present writer does, find more numerous points of agreement with this Stalinist revisionism than with the original and purer Marxism. But is any good purpose served in insisting that this is not revisionism and in pouring vituperation upon the more orthodox sects of the true faith? What we need is a rigorous comparison between the old Social Democratic position and the present Communist position. There are probably important differences. But there are also interesting and disturbing similarities. Are these similarities prompted by the rise of fascism as a dynamic anti-democratic movement or by the development of Russia as a "satisfied" world power? Perhaps a still more important question is whether either or both of these new factors justify a policy which was once condemned as "social fascism."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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Defoe—Man of the People

DEFOE. By James Sutherland. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.50.

THE life and career of Daniel Defoe were marked by a clear consistency. He never rose to the heights of expression or to the greatness of mind achieved by his contemporaries Dryden and Swift; but on the other hand he never sank to the peevishness and the sheer spite of Pope. In the midst of the most severe frustrations and of startling threats to life and fortune, he retained a calm sanity of thought and behavior. He was in fact the physical realization of the true-born Englishman. This circumstance makes him significant, for, as Professor Sutherland clearly points out, Defoe was not a writer of the first genius but rather a mirror of the normal life and thought of his time. The soaring ideals of political reform and toleration of the earlier Puritans become in his words and deeds practical schemes for harmony at home and dignified peace abroad. His *Essay on Projects*, in youthful days, and his *Augusta Triumphans*, in later life, reveal a homely and immediately practicable concern for humane objectives and for modes of daily life designed to make human relationships more happy and profitable. He offers plans for the building of a vast system of good roads that will encourage free travel and bring the people of all England into fruitful acquaintance; he advocates institutions for the care of the feeble-minded; he proposes the establishment of academies for the more thorough study and wider diffusion of useful knowledge; he urges the founding of schools for the education of women; he suggests that there should be a university in London intended for those who enjoy fewer social privileges than the students at Oxford and Cambridge but who have greater desire for useful knowledge; and he considers reforms in court procedures designed to protect simple men from injustice and to bring malefactors, particularly street robbers, to speedier justice. Occasionally, indeed, he joins daring with practical convenience, as when he discusses a rudimentary league of nations, or economic boycotts, or government regulation of employment and business methods.

The Defoe that is most widely known is the victim of the pillory and the author of "Robinson Crusoe" and "Moll Flanders." To many he is either the ardent and indiscreet dissenter or the author of an adventure to beguile youth or a moralistic saga of a penitent prostitute. Too few know the Defoe of the projects or the brilliant and copious journalist of the *Review*. Cognizant of this fact, Professor Sutherland has devoted most of his book to a detailed presentation of Defoe's services to politics and of his multifarious pamphlets and periodicals. He has accomplished his purpose admirably, and though there are other excellent books on Defoe, notably the study by Paul Dottin, this volume easily takes its place as the best current presentation of an exceedingly involved subject. It has both learning and charm of style.

In his zeal to give his readers a full and accurate picture of Defoe the public man and journalist, the author has neglected, quite deliberately it appears, to present a complete account of Defoe's work as a writer of fiction. What discussion there is is effective in its analysis of style and its description of plots. In fact, it is so satisfactory that the reader regrets the absence of a fuller discussion of Defoe's relation to the picaresque type, the failure to develop more thoroughly the relation between the brief biographies of criminals and the longer narratives, the omission of any reference to Jonathan Wild and Peter the Great, and the lack of a

completer statement of Defoe's place in the development of English fiction.

To ask for more from Professor Sutherland, however, is not to plead like Oliver Twist, out of hunger unsatisfied, but rather to sigh like the gourmet, out of taste delighted.

DONALD A. ROBERTS

The Business Liberal

A HISTORY OF THE BUSINESS MAN. By Miriam Beard. The Macmillan Company. \$5.

OTHERS have already praised this work as one of profound philosophical insight into the theory of business enterprise, saying, "From any point of view, historical, literary, or philosophical, this book is a superb achievement." It remains for someone to praise it for what it is. Perhaps Miss Beard's reviewers are arrested by the thought that in questioning her achievement they are inviting replies from the entire literary company of which she is merely an outpost; father, mother, brother, and husband, scribes all, are indeed formidable, but surely the author herself would be the first to dismiss such uncritical encomiums.

It would have been more enlightening had most reviewers imitated the well-known minister who was accustomed, you remember, to defend himself during visits to the new parents among his parishioners by gazing admiringly at the infant and saying, "Well, that *is* a baby." This *is* a book—765 pages, filled with the scholarship of eight years. The author, no philosopher, has written a spicy narrative, a chronicle of the goings-on of the business man through the ages, from Ur of the Chaldees to the day after tomorrow.

And yet Miss Beard, too balanced and balancing a personality to welcome fulsome praise, clearly aspires to a reputation for insight into our present problems. It is with respect to that aspiration and its imprint on her work that it seems worth while to criticize her. Only at intervals in the chronicle does she pause to reflect her own views, but by piecing together these interludes, and by summing up the turns of phrase throughout the remainder of the work, some implicit substitute for an explicit philosophy may be reconstructed.

From this reconstruction Miss Beard emerges as a representative of that interesting species which adorns our era, the business liberal. The reader will search the book in vain for any demonstration that the author can envisage a world without business men. So great is her compassion for the class that a thousand fallen—whose falls she narrates, often with loud whoops—are as nothing beside one regenerate.

This produces a curious effect: first we have the theme, Business we have always with us; the more it changes the more it is the same. And then: "As far as historic record goes, there is no reason to suppose that American business must necessarily imitate any other type; indeed, if business history shows anything, it demonstrates the uniqueness of each people in its economic-social development, despite general trends and universal communication." Mark the words "necessarily" and "imitate" as reflections of this free-will attitude of the business liberal. Self-determination leads us (business men) to be isolationists and nationalists. This capacity characterizes the picture-book world she unfolds. In her universe there is no full-bodied inhabitant except the business man. The rest are paper cut-outs.

Her publishers celebrate the fact that this book is "not written around a rigid thesis," and perhaps the juxtaposition of two quotations, one from Miss Beard and the other from

Veblen, will show what it means to be a business liberal. By the round word rather than the sharp one, by the long view of the Olympian rather than the next step of the marketplace, the business liberal achieves a release from necessity which abstracts her also from reality. Her "morality" is performed by her rational hero the Business Man, and in the following passage there appear the irrational, blood-lustful villains, the "old foes of business, the warriors." Time, the present:

Empire thus proved as dangerous as Nature [she means "natural law"] to business. A device potent in rousing masses to cheer for war and support a capitalism which seemed to serve some higher purpose than profits, it had its menacing aspects. The symbol of Empire awakened dark forces of blood-lust, irrational mysticism, and pride of race. Above all, it gave increased power, in England as in Germany and elsewhere, to the old foes of business, the warriors, and shed a fresh glamor upon coronets, steel helmets, and massed banners. In this lay portents beyond the estimates of actuaries.

Compare this with Veblen, writing in 1904 on the same subject, in the closing pages of "The Theory of Business Enterprise":

The quest of profits leads to a predatory national policy. The resulting large fortunes call for a massive government apparatus to secure the accumulations, on the one hand, and for large and conspicuous opportunities to spend the resulting income, on the other hand; which means a militant, coercive home administration and something in the way of an imperial court life—a dynastic fountain of honor and a courtly bureau of ceremonial amenities. Such an ideal is not simply a moralist's day dream; it is a sound business proposition, in that it lies on the line of policy along which the business interests are moving in their own behalf. If national (that is to say, dynastic) ambitions and warlike aims, achievements, spectacles, and discipline be given a large place in the community's life, together with the concomitant coercive police surveillance, there is a fair hope that the disintegrating trend of the machine discipline may be corrected.

R. K. LAMB

Guide to Relief

AMERICA ON RELIEF. By Marie Dresden Lane and Francis Steegmuller. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY. By John D. Millett. Published for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Security Council by Public Administration Service. \$3.

THE first book is a highly useful handbook to relief in America. And what is more important, perhaps, it points the way to a future relief program based not upon the expediences of the moment but on the long-time needs revealed during the past six years.

Mrs. Lane is a social worker of broad experience and background. She has definite ideas about the administration of relief, and she appealed to Mr. Steegmuller to put them into readable form. While she is critical of many phases of the federal relief program she recognizes frankly that the mistakes which have been made have come out of the very circumstances under which the system was established.

What is essential, in Mrs. Lane's interpretation, is to benefit by these mistakes. It is made abundantly clear that now is the time to revise the relief system from top to bottom. What we have today is still a stop-gap. On the relief rolls are thousands upon thousands of individuals who

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will never be reemployed in industry again. Nor are they eligible for the benefits established under the social-security program. They are, many of them, in that unhappy twilight zone between forty-five and sixty-five. Or they are incapacitated by illness or injury. Or there is no longer any demand for their skills.

It is not only cruel but inefficient to keep these individuals on an impermanent relief basis. If they have not succeeded in establishing their employability under the Works Progress Administration, they are in most instances at the mercy of local relief agencies. And in a great many, perhaps the majority, of communities that means in this winter of the "recession" a precarious existence close to starvation.

Certain major changes are necessary within the relief administration itself. Mrs. Lane shows that the so-called sewing projects, enrolling some 200,000 women, are "an expensive and unfruitful blind alley." Although the word is not used, they appear to be a form of boondoggling out of which comes very little that is socially useful. Mrs. Lane makes specific recommendations for caring for the women who cling to the sewing projects. Social-security grants to mothers with dependent children should be liberalized. Projects of definite community service should be established. Mrs. Lane recognizes clearly that to many women the sewing projects represent the first security they have ever known. But it is a security which is delusive, since obviously this particular form of emergency work relief cannot be sustained indefinitely.

If relief has done nothing else it has shown the basic needs and desires that have long gone unfulfilled in America. In setting forth these long-time needs, against the relief picture, the authors perform an invaluable service. First and foremost is the appalling lack of medical care. Thousands of persons who had never had any medical attention whatsoever besieged the relief offices. And only slightly less conspicuous is the glaring want of educational facilities to supply the special needs and desires of millions of Americans. Vocational training and adult education have scarcely got a start.

No one connected with the problem of relief can afford to ignore the concluding chapter, *Next Steps*. Expressed here, forcefully and concisely, are the recommendations that have come out of Mrs. Lane's experience. First she suggests the establishment of a commission to make a thorough study and evaluation of the whole relief program. This study would be the basis of a long-range program which would be coordinated with all forms of public assistance.

It should be added that although Mrs. Lane is a social worker, the book displays no unwarranted social-work bias. And it is written in language that the layman as well as the specialist can understand. A guide through the complex mazes of FERA, CWA, and WPA, the book points the way to what may eventually be another alphabetical combination.

Mr. Millett presents a comprehensive survey of the WPA in New York City, where nearly 250,000 persons have been employed and one-seventh of all Works Progress funds have been spent. This book, too, should be very useful to those who are concerned with the future of relief. Mr. Millett makes the sound point that no attempt to revise or abolish the WPA should be made until the Administration has decided upon a basic philosophy concerning relief. In the past it has been the sudden shape-ups that have been most disastrous to relief administration.

MARQUIS W. CHILDS

Oxonians in the Depression

STARTING POINT. By C. Day Lewis. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

NOVELS concerning youth formerly had to do with their psychological problems; today they deal with the methods by which youth comes to understand a difficult world. Here, as in his first novel, C. Day Lewis chooses for his characters the young Oxford intellectuals whom he knows best. His thesis lies in the quotation from Franz Kafka which introduces the story: "From a certain point onward there is no longer any turning back. That is the point that must be reached."

Anthony, the young idealist and liberal, turns finally to socialism and the book ends with his going to fight for Loyalist Spain. But Lewis is well aware that many educated young men do not fit so easily into the modern heroic pattern. Each has his own "starting-point." For Theodore, the son of the sophisticated actress Harriet Blair, that point is in childhood: a memory half-thrilling and half-terrifying causes him to kill his mother and himself. He is the ivory-tower artist who never matures and whom neither egotism nor success can shelter. Henry, an innocent, cannot be protected from his sense of insufficiency and sin. Tragedy leads him into the monastery. John, a socialist in college and a scientist, becomes the man who conforms to keep his position and support his wife and children. Anthony alone, of whom it would least be expected, grows finally to complete political awareness. He undertakes the small problem of reforming the conditions of the tenant farmers on his father's estate and learns the strength of the economic structure he wants to change. A scab in the general strike, he meets the strikers face to face and against his better judgment accepts their terms.

Lewis writes a very competent prose. He chooses his scenes well, and his psychological motivation is subtle and convincing. Some of his dialogue is brilliant and some is merely pseudo-intellectual. But certain scenes, undramatic in themselves, are so well handled that they remain unforgettable. Theodore, playing ping-pong as if his life depended on his winning against the champion player in the boys' club run by Henry, is both ridiculous and pathetic; Theodore is also symbolic of the blind hatred between the classes. Murder scenes are difficult to make convincing, but Lewis has so well motivated Theodore's relation to his mother and his essential childishness that the reader believes in the horror and rebellion in which Theodore commits his crime. The scenes in Anthony's home between Brenda and her brother and John are humorous, real, and very human. Nothing is overemphasized or poeticized in this book. The novelist achieves his effects quietly, and largely by the careful selection of small details which slowly build to a full awareness on the reader's part of the characters and their potentialities for action. The novel, on its own small scale, is successful. Lewis attempts no portrayal of people or situations with which he is not entirely familiar. He has undertaken to analyze the position of the Oxford student and graduate in the late economic crisis. If he is a little less successful with his women characters than with his men, it is obviously because he is most sensitive to the ways in which the young man confronts life. The book is readable; the narrative grows steadily into greater intensity. There is no doubt that Lewis, who has not betaken himself to the realms of legend and allegory for his method, but portrays naturalistically what he has studied, is a thoroughly good, though not a great, novelist.

EDA LOU WALTON

DRAMA

More Rope and Less Sauce

INA CLAIRE is even more charming than usual in a witty play called "Once Is Enough" (Henry Miller's Theater). The author is Frederick Lonsdale, and as rational entertainment there is little or nothing to be said against it. From the standpoint of the reviewer it does, however, suffer from one very grave defect. Twelve hours after the fall of the final curtain I am already finding it difficult to separate this particular play from various other comedies by Mr. Lonsdale, or from dozens of others which he will probably get around to later.

The heroine is a wise and beautiful woman (she always is) whose husband has been observed dining in Soho with someone else (he always does) not worthy of him (she invariably isn't). So far I am indubitably right, but unfortunately as right about many other plays as I am about this one, and I must distinguish. The question which arises is this: Does she bring him to his senses by flirting with some one else? Now that the question is asked I do remember. She does not. She belongs, not to the "sauce for the goose" school of thought, but to the "give him enough rope" school. She is as nice and reasonable—in a thoroughly cattish way—as anyone could possibly be, and in due course the erring husband comes to his senses. To say this is to separate "Once Is Enough" from half the plays that are like it, but I find it difficult to go any farther.

And is this what I call "a rational entertainment"? It is. Mr. Lonsdale may not say anything new, but what he says he says well and the lesson he tries to teach is one which has never been learned. Comedy writers may have been telling us for a good many centuries that we ought to be sensible about things like this, but so far as I can judge from the newspapers even the best people who sit in orchestra seats often forget what they have applauded at the end of innumerable evenings. The wronged wife very frequently sends for her lawyer instead of either stirring up a sauce or letting out more rope; the injured husband goes out to buy a pistol instead of remembering that what a gentleman really ought to do under such circumstances is to tap a cigarette thoughtfully on a monogrammed case while suggesting that they talk this thing out. Comedy which is even moderately well written always seems new for the simple reason that it represents people as behaving in a rational manner—thus affording a spectacle too astonishing ever to seem commonplace.

Does "Once Is Enough" deal with a problem of contemporary existence? Can it come home to men's hearts and bosoms? It does. It can. So far as the members of the audience to which it is addressed are concerned the answer to these questions can be given in a much more confident affirmative than I, at least, should like to venture in the case of many graver plays whose claim to greatness is said to rest upon the fact that they present the spectator with living issues. On returning home, most of the people who attend Henry Miller's Theater are much more likely to find that their wife or husband has been dining tête-à-tête with someone else than they are to find the struggle between capital and labor reaching an acute stage on their doorstep. And there are many things wives might do less profitable than making a resolution to look as well as act more like Miss Claire in the present play.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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FILMS

Serial Sentiment

ONE of the worst sins against movie form is committed lavishly by two current headliners. Many others have committed it and will continue to do so, and the form sinned against is more than movie form; it is form in general, or rather that first law of art of which the name is unity. So that there would seem to be no good reason for picking on "Of Human Hearts" (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) and "Tom Sawyer" (United Artists) among so many of their kind. The only reason, in fact, is that they come by coincidence close together and that there is nothing else to talk about in the dulllest movie month I can remember.

Both films are sentimental, but that is not the point. They publish their sentiment serially. At perhaps a dozen moments in each film there is something like a dead stop, with something like a voice saying: "Continued in our next." That the next issue follows immediately by the clock does not mean that continuity has been kept. It has been broken in the worst way: one sentiment having been exhausted, another one has been started working, soon of course to grow tired in its turn and drop the lead to a third, and so on. A single controlling sentiment is so much better than this as to seem no sin; or if it is to be given that name, then this must be labeled abomination. "Of Human Hearts" is not singly and therefore perhaps honestly sentimental. It has been calculated as a series of devices to "get" us, each of them well tried, known to have worked before, and counted on confidently now—so confidently that nobody in power has given a thought to the story supposedly being told. The devices, or the sentiments, have familiar names: Doctor, Mother, Civil War, Lincoln. And any one of them could have been built into something respectable through the simple process of being believed. What we have instead is a medley, an amateur hour, a series of climaxes mechanically brought off. The village doctor who drinks too much gives way to the boy who forgets his mother; then she takes the stage, assisted by a scene in Lincoln's office during war time; and finally there is the old family horse—a nice fellow in himself, but worked all but dead in his tracks when the director suspects that there have not been enough spasms of sentiment thus far and so there must be still another. A sign that the audience was taking the film as it had been intended was the applause when Lincoln's face first became visible. The applause was not for anything that Lincoln did or said, but quite automatically for the idea of Lincoln's having been added to all the other "fine" things of the film. The audience had been well trained in the automatic response, the pressed nerve.

"Tom Sawyer" is too kiddy for my taste. It was perhaps bound to be, since the book is kiddy too, as "Huckleberry Finn" is not. But the film's worst fault is that it depends on the book to carry it, the whitewashing scene, for instance, serving no other purpose than to remind us of Mark Twain; as it stands here it is incomplete and feeble, an episode the point of which is neither emphasized nor developed. So with the treasure found hidden in the cave; its source is not explained, the finding of it does not seem important, and the public announcement of it at the end causes the merest ripple of surprise. The book is but sketched, and heedlessly at that.

MARK VAN DOREN

Letters to the Editors

Instead of the Ludlow Bill

Dear Sirs: Many arguments have been made for and against the proposed Ludlow amendment to the Constitution calling for a referendum on war. But there is one weakness in the proposal which both its advocates and opponents have apparently overlooked, and which I believe to be a valid objection. It lies in the following phrase, "except in case of invasion of the United States or its territorial possessions, and attack upon its citizens residing therein."

Who is to decide this point? Congress, of course. But if Congress were in a mood to declare war it could easily declare it to be a defense against invasion, whatever the circumstances. Then what becomes of the war referendum?

Instead of a referendum on war I propose a *referendum on conscription*. The President of the United States could wage war without a declaration of war, but he couldn't wage an aggressive, unpopular war for very long without conscription. Suppose we had such an amendment as the following: "No Act of Congress to conscript American citizens for any military purpose shall be legal without receiving the approval of a majority of the electorate in a popular referendum, and then only for the period of time specified in the referendum." This would leave the power to declare war in the hands of Congress, where it now lies. This would not unnecessarily handicap the President of the United States in his conduct of our foreign affairs. This would not prevent him or Congress from taking immediate steps to repel any threatened invasion of this country because the President would have at his disposal the standing army of the country, the navy, and the air force, and he could call for any number of volunteers.

If conscription were found necessary, Congress and the President could submit their case directly to the people for approval or disapproval. One point on which the average citizen in a democracy should be consulted is whether he wants to kill or be killed for a cause. And if a government is afraid to consult its citizens before drafting them to fight in a war, how does such a government differ in substance from a dictatorship or an absolute monarchy?

Moreover, the act of conscription, unlike the act of invasion, is capable of exact definition.

DAVID RHYS WILLIAMS

Rochester, N. Y., February 16

Substitute No. 2

Dear Sirs: May I bring to your attention a proposed amendment to the Constitution which I have offered for consideration to certain peace organizations and to certain Congressmen who supported the Ludlow bill? The purpose of this proposal is to define exactly national defense, in such a way as to leave no uncertainty about the powers and duties given to the President by the people, while avoiding all interference with the administration of foreign affairs by the Executive.

No armed force of the United States shall be sent outside the territory and territorial waters of the continental United States and a patrol zone extending five hundred miles from the shores thereof, except such forces as may be authorized by Congress for the protection of Alaska, Hawaii, the Isthmus of Panama, and the West Indies; provided, that Congress may authorize the sending of convoys to protect commerce in times of danger; and provided, that the operation of this article may be suspended by vote of the people of the United States when hostilities threaten and until conditions of peace are restored.

This article shall not be construed to forbid the transfer of a naval vessel from one coast of the United States to another; nor to prevent the use of a naval vessel for giving succor in time of distress; nor to forbid the protection of mandated territory placed in the custody of the United States by treaty with other nations.

BARCLAY W. BRADLEY

Pasadena, Cal., February 7

Mr. Hacker on Mr. Brody

Dear Sirs: I see in your issue of February 12 that Alter Brody is peeved at the fact that I, in company with some forty-four others, publicly expressed displeasure with your editorial policy on the war question. You yourselves titled the letter "A Letter from Forty-five Liberals," and that is your concern as well as the signers'. What interests me at the moment is the cute way Mr. Brody goes about getting rid of as many of the signers as he can identify. He thinks

that Sidney Hook and I, for example, are not liberals, because, he says, we "freely admit" that we "are the only accredited American interpreters of that famous liberal economist, the late Karl Marx." Mr. Brody seems to be hinting that I am a bad Marxist and a bad historian, from which it follows that I am no liberal.

This is the second time that Stalinist correspondents of *The Nation* have made references to my competence. But if they don't think I am so hot, why do they lift my stuff? Academic scholars are beginning to remark on this wholesale borrowing.

In a review of "The First American Revolution," the work of the pseudonymous Stalinist Jack Hardy and published by the official Communist house, International Publishers, Professor Curtis P. Nettels of Wisconsin and Harvard Universities wrote in the *American Political Science Review* for December, 1937:

The significant ideas appear to have been taken (without due acknowledgment) from an article by Louis M. Hacker, *The First American Revolution*, in the *Columbia University Quarterly* for September, 1935. Those interested in the best Marxian interpretation of the revolution should read Mr. Hacker's able analysis.

Mr. Brody and all his Stalinist friends cannot eat their cake and have it too. He will have to find some other way of insulting me. LOUIS M. HACKER
New York, February 10

Protest and Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: When a reviewer says that he—or she—dislikes a certain book, no author has any right to protest. But when a reviewer states flatly that an author holds views which he demonstrably does not hold, then the author has cause to speak out. In your number of December 25 appeared a review by Eda Lou Walton of my autobiography. In it she says: "He admires Mussolini, dislikes Russia, retires in the end into the most perfect of all retreats—sectionalism of the good old Southern variety."

There is not one statement in my volume to bear out these assertions. In point of fact I am extremely critical not only of Mussolini but of one of his upholders; I admire and value Russia's

considerable cultural achievement, while remaining skeptical whether Russia's present economic policy leads toward or away from communism. Nor is "sectionalism of the good old Southern variety," in my case, a retreat; my object has been to transform it into an active social policy. But reviewers like Miss Walton have neither desire to speak the truth nor respect for the truths discovered by others to guide them. When anyone steps on their favorite prejudices, they are capable of asserting that black is white, and that an author has written what, in point of fact, he never said.

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

Kansas City, Mo., January 20

Dear Sirs: In reply to John Gould Fletcher's letter concerning my review of his book, "Life Is My Song," I shall quote three passages from his book. On page 314 occurs this passage:

Moreover, I was now intensely curious to see for myself how Italy was faring under Benito Mussolini, the first of the Caesars whose advent on the European stage Spengler had accurately predicted. I must admit that I not only went to Italy in a spirit disposed to be critical of Mussolini and of all the achievements of fascism, but that I came away favorably impressed.

That was in 1925. On page 355, with reference to his book "Two Frontiers," Fletcher says:

I pictured in my last chapter a presumptive clash between the two great powers of America and the U. S. S. R.—a clash that would, in fact, be inevitable provided one assumed that Russia in any case must stand or fall by communism, while America is always to be taken as the greatest and most openly powerful upholder of capitalism in the world. But fresh thought along lines of my own study has now convinced me how greatly I was mistaken in my first diagnosis. America only accepts capitalism pragmatically, because it either works now or has worked in the past; just as Russia only accepts communism theoretically, with infinite modifications—which at present rather tend to produce a system of competitive mass-production for rewards regulated by the state—in actual practice. Russia still is, therefore, under all its present applications, a centralized autocratic state working toward the goal of theoretical equality under communism. . . . In Russia whatever real communism does exist is imposed from above, not from below. Sentimentally the Russian is still a nihilist; but the state makes war on his nihilism.

In reference to agrarianism Mr. Fletcher says on page 361:

The future of regionalism in America seemed to me to be bound up with some-

thing else—some unknown and incalculable moral factor of conscious agrarianism, which would set its face alike against further centralization of industry and against the big-city culture of sophistication which had followed upon the centralization from the days of the eighteen seventies down to the great boom of the nineteen twenties. What factor was there in the American intellectual landscape which had set itself the task of consciously upholding the cause of agrarianism except that small group of twelve Southerners who with myself as a member had brought out the symposium "I'll Take My Stand?" I could find none. Moreover, perhaps now the time was ripe for America to take moral stock, to see that behind all this talk of economic planning which had followed the coming of the great depression lay another question, not of economics, but of ethics—a question of what were the best elements upon which man could plan, and which would be the most conducive to the good and the full life.

As to whether this is a "retreat" or not, I leave it to the reader to decide.

EDA LOU WALTON

New York, February 4

Bard Needs Help

Dear Sirs: The announcement that Bard College at Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, is in immediate need of funds to carry on during 1938-39 is shocking to those who know of its unique liberal-arts program and its value to our educational scheme. I hope that those who are deeply concerned with the education of our youth will accept the responsibility and privilege of providing the necessary funds to sustain this type of educational pioneering.

Bard College, which is part of Columbia University, has a philosophy of education based on the following principles: education means development of capacities at individual rate of growth toward self-direction, creative effort, research for critical thinking, and social responsibility; close, informal relation between students and faculty tend to establish a confidence and understanding which make personality adjustments possible; the learning process is accelerated through interest, and through related studies the student continues to widen his horizon.

The effectiveness of the Bard system can best be realized when one observes that students there are actually discovering adventure in the educative process. The type of education which can develop this attitude is so rare that it should be supported by a social-minded public.

ESTHER GRAY

New York, February 17

One Reader's Indorsement

Dear Sirs: Since your support of the principle of collective security has been challenged by readers whose numbers and reputation carry weight, permit another reader to record her warm indorsement of it. Our isolationists do not seem to realize that isolationism and imperialism are merely two sides of the same medal. Selfishness is selfishness, whether it is on the aggressive or on the defensive. And selfishness in the long run is usually shortsighted. It has been conspicuously so of late years, when a policy of keeping out of trouble has landed us all—where we are.

More power to your elbow!

C. I. CLAFLIN

New York, February 1

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